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Providing a positive
antidote to hate
and intolerance

January-February 2015

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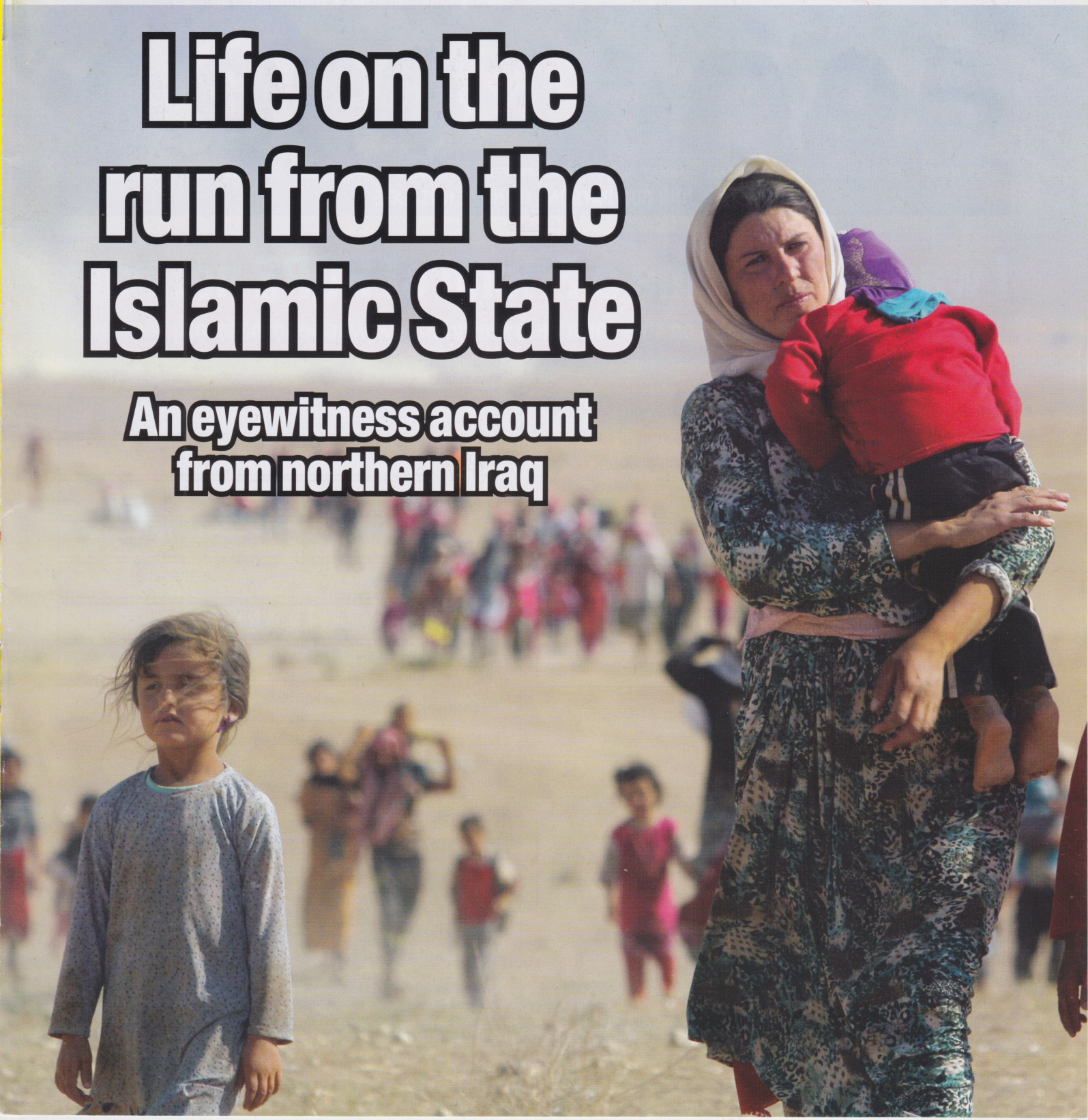


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HOPE not hate

An anti-fascist and
anti-racist publication

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Cover image: Displaced people from the
minority Yazidi sect, fleeing violence from
forces loyal to the Islamic State.

HOPE not hate is a bi-monthly
publication providing information on hate
groups and community initiatives
to combat them.

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Nick Lowles

EDITOR

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IS is an anti-fascist issue

JOE MULHALL'S dramatic eyewitness account of the human suffering and mass displacement of people resulting from ISIS's advances across Syria and Iraq is a sombre reminder of the regime's brutality.

So brutal and intolerant is the Islamic State that I would put it on par with any of the worst fascistic and authoritarian regimes that accompanied the 20th century.

But this is not merely a problem for the Middle East or the Arab world. Theocratic, extreme, Jihadism and the literal interpretation of the Qur'an are sadly prevalent across the world, including in the UK.

So, just as we oppose the racism and intolerance of the British National Party and National Front, so we must be prepared to stand up to those who want to create a society that enslaves women, murders those of other religions, rejects democratic and civil rights and is uncompromisingly brutal to anyone standing in their way.

RESPONSIBLE REPORTING

There has been a disturbing trend among some commentators to present the far right as some ever-rising force, both here and across Europe. As our 2014 State of Hate report concludes, this is not the case.

The British far right is at its weakest for almost 20 years and it is electorally, for the present time at least, politically finished. While there has been a growth in the number of organisations, this is the result of splits within existing organisations.

Across Europe there has been growth in the far right in some countries but decline in others. Monitoring and reporting on racism and fascism is vital, but so is being accurate and keeping a sense of proportion.

However, what is abundantly clear, both in the UK and across the rest of Europe, is that the activity of right wing groups – be it the nazis of Golden Dawn

or the right-wing populists of UKIP – pushes the mainstream to the right with increased anti-immigrant and racist policies as a result.

Just as we fight the outright racists and fascists, so we must also counter the drift (or, in some cases, the stampede) to the right by the political mainstream.

THE HATE MARCHERS

The emergence of the anti-Islamist Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the Occident (PEGIDA) and the hooligan group, Hooligans against Salafists (HoGeSa), in Germany are dangerous developments.

Just like the EDL a few years ago, these organisations have the ability to rejuvenate a stagnant far right and – with its focus on Islamist extremism – appeal to a far wider audience than would normally be attracted to traditional German nazi organisations.

While their demonstrations have created a positive backlash in mainstream German society, the potential for trouble and growing anti-Muslim hatred in society is obvious.

Events in Germany also have the potential to give life to the stagnant right-wing Counter-Jihad movement across Europe that was badly affected by the murderous actions of the Norwegian terrorist, Anders Breivik. Even in the UK, many right wing leaders are watching developments in Germany with excitement.

THE YEAR AHEAD

2015 is going to be a busy year for the HOPE not hate campaign. From the General Election to our localised community work, from expanding the scope of our research to improving our social media presence, there is much to do.

As we prepare for these challenges, I would like to take this opportunity to wish you all a happy New Year and thank you all for your support over the past year. ●

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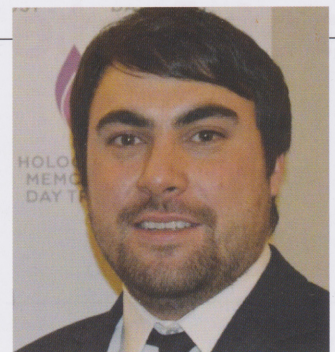
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CONTRIBUTORS



ERIC K WARD

In the Guest Column, Eric Ward, from the Ford Foundation, writes that the police killings of black men in the US has led to a pivotal moment for racial justice movement.



JOE MULHALL

Joe Mulhall gives a first-hand account on the human suffering caused by Islamic State extremism and argues that this is an extremism we cannot ignore.



DANIEL TRILLING

Author Dan Trilling welcomes the prosecution of Golden Dawn leaders but says anti-racists must also challenge the growing anti-immigrant rhetoric and policies of the political mainstream.

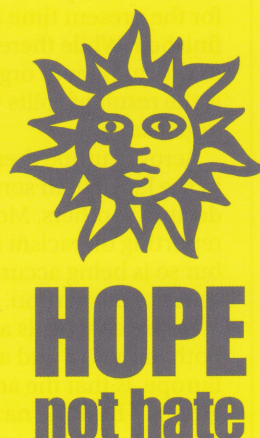
HOPE not hate challenges the politics of hate and organised intolerance within society.

Initially established to counter the electoral rise of the BNP, HOPE not hate mobilises communities by providing a positive alternative to the politics of hate. Since it was founded in 2004, HOPE not hate has over 165,000 online supporters and over 120,000 followers on Facebook.

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HOPE not hate comprises HOPE not hate Ltd and our charitable wing, HOPE not hate Educational Ltd.

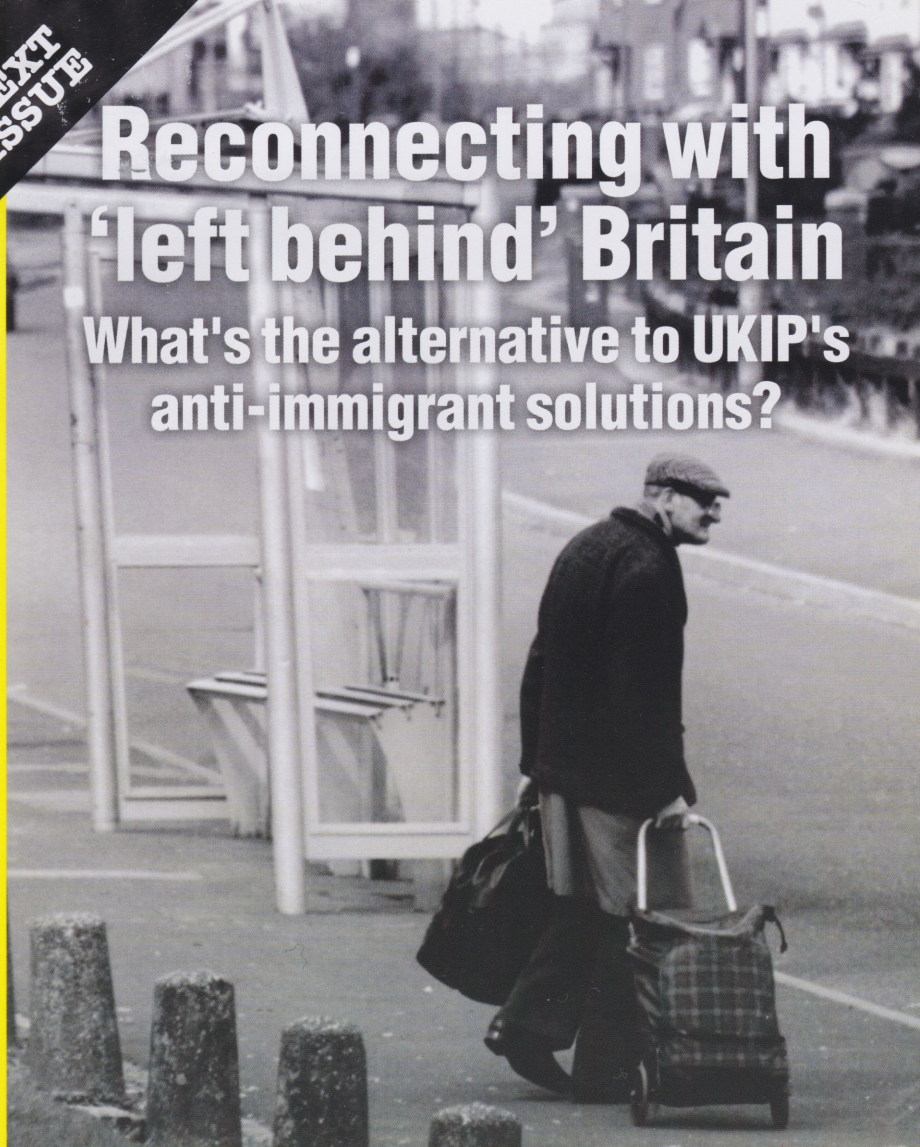
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**NEXT
ISSUE**

Reconnecting with 'left behind' Britain

What's the alternative to UKIP's
anti-immigrant solutions?



Also

- An on-the-spot report on the Greek elections
- Sweden rallies round Muslim community after attacks
- Far right prospects in the forthcoming elections
- Special Investigation – anti-Muslim hate in the UK

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Nazi soldier jailed for terror offences

A SOLDIER with far right links has been jailed at the Old Bailey for two years after he was found guilty of making a nail bomb at his home in Eccles, Greater Manchester.

Ryan McGee, 20, made the explosive device after studying *The Anarchist Cookbook* and purchasing a number of components online. The device was packed full of metal screws and shards of glass designed to cause devastation when detonated.

McGee, a serving soldier with the 5th Battalion, The Rifles, was stationed in Germany at the time of his arrest. He had attended at least one EDL march and a police search of his family home uncovered a number of items linking him to the far right, including a journal with drawings of guns and machetes and with references to the National Front, Ku Klux Klan and the BNP. A photograph of McGee dressed in a KKK outfit was also discovered.

When interviewed by police, McGee attributed his interest in the far right



Ryan McGee has been jailed for two years after he was found guilty of making a nail bomb

to his dislike of immigration. Detective Superintendent Simon Barraclough, of the North West Counter Terrorism Unit, said: "McGee had in his possession a viable improvised device and the

material and knowledge of how to make it. He clearly set out to make the device which could have seriously injured or possibly killed members of the public."



David Souaan (below) on top of a tank and holding a machine gun



Choudary disciple guilty of terrorism

HOPE not hate has previously documented the numerous times that followers of Islamist hate preacher Anjem Choudary have been convicted on terror charges.

Police stopped another one, David Souaan, 20, at Heathrow airport in May while he was on his way to Syria to link up with fellow extremists.

The Camden student, from Serbia, who attends Birkbeck College and was on a three-year visa studying politics and international relations, had already been to Syria six months before to fight on the frontline. Whilst there, he had posed for photographs with machine guns and tanks.

His fellow students contacted the police after he boasted to them of his exploits with the photographs of his Syrian trip.

Police raided his room on campus and seized his computer and mobile phone on which they found a huge amount of material including photos, videos and documents that demonstrated his intention to return to Syria to fight again. Included in the videos was footage of a man having his throat cut.

Souaan was found guilty at the Old Bailey of preparing acts of terrorism. Judge Peter Rook adjourned the case until February for pre-sentence reports, telling him: "You must understand that you will be receiving a custodial sentence in this case."

East Midlands Mosque counters extremism



AN EAST MIDLANDS mosque has put itself at the forefront of tackling extremism by offering social media training to its congregation so they can provide counter-arguments to extremist messages online. The Jamia Mosque in Derby is attempting to take new converts under its wing in the hope extremists do not tempt them.

Qazi Abdul Mateen, an imam at the mosque, said: "Anybody who has a true understanding of Islam and Islamic knowledge can never turn to extremism. I am 100% certain of that." The Derby mosque also refuses to allow any collections for Syria as it feels it cannot be sure where the money would be really going. The imam said there are many passages in the Koran that show how far removed from the religion's teachings the actions of the terrorist ISIS really are.

Jewish MP receives 2,500 hate messages in three days

A LIVERPOOL MP has revealed that she received over 2,500 antisemitic messages on Twitter during a three-day period. Luciana Berger, the Labour MP for Wavertree and Shadow Minister for Public Health, received the abusive messages after a nazi was jailed in October for posting a racist "Tweet".

Garron Helm, 21, from Liverpool, was jailed for four weeks after admitting sending an offensive Tweet to Berger. The Merseyside MP was given special security advice after receiving the abuse that included a number of death threats orchestrated by a US-based white supremacist group.

Berger said: "The police told me that at its peak I received 2,500 tweets over the course of three days and I received many hundreds of others beyond those three days. It wasn't just online. A few weeks after, there were 10 people who turned up and were arrested outside my office in Liverpool."

Ms Berger called on Twitter to do more to stop abuse. "Online hate," she said, "needs to be taken as seriously as offline hate – but it isn't. Twitter's response isn't good enough. It has a responsibility to do more to protect its users."

Councillor calls for travellers to be "executed"

A CONSERVATIVE COUNCILLOR has had to resign his post after calling for travellers to be "executed". Alan Mellins (pictured), who represents the Cox Green ward on Windsor and Maidenhead Council, made the remark at a council meeting in October.



The meeting was debating how to respond to the Government consultation on traveller families that deals with planning policy so it applies fairly to both traveller and settled communities.

Councillors in attendance were discussing the length it can take to evict travellers who fail to have appropriate planning permission. Suggestions for speeding up the process were asked for when Councillor Mellins said: "Execute them".

He later attempted to explain that his comments were not to be taken seriously but Conservative Party HQ suspended his membership.

In a statement, Cllr David Burbage, leader of the Conservative Group on Windsor and Maidenhead Council, said: "Cllr Mellins' comments are being taken extremely seriously. Offensive remarks such as Cllr Mellins' are not tolerated by the Conservative Party, here or anywhere else."

Go back to jail

FORMER NAZI Combat 18 (C18) leader Charlie Sargent is back behind bars after being involved in a fight outside an Essex pub in the company of many of his old C18 friends.

Sargent was released from prison last year – after being convicted for the murder of Chris Castle, in an internal feud, in 1997 – on the proviso that he did not associate with any of his old C18 friends and did not get involved in any violence.

Sargent broke this agreement from the moment he got out of prison and began meeting his former associates to plot his revenge against his old C18 enemies from the dark recesses of pubs in the hope of not being seen. Unfortunately for Sargent, HOPE not hate was monitoring his activities.

Among those he associated with were:

- Tim Ryan, a former C18 and British Movement activist who is himself on licence after being convicted of possessing a gun that was discovered buried in his mother's garden.

- Eddie Stampton, probably the most hated man on the British far right and currently active with the southern faction of the National Front and co-ordinator of the British Golden Dawn.

- Rob Hilton, a close associate from Sargent's C18 days and a long-time activist in the UDA.

- Frank Portinari, leader of the

UDA on the British mainland and a convicted gunrunner.

■ Andy Frain, a leading Chelsea hooligan and C18 supporter, whom Sargent had little time for until they were in the same prison.

Sargent was not just content to enjoy a social drink with his old pals. Free from prison, he actively tried to stir up trouble and reopen old feuds with Will Browning and other nazi opponents he blamed for his downfall.

He also made contact with Mark Atkinson, who had sided with Browning during the original split but who has since gone his own way with the Racial Volunteer Force. Sargent was hoping Atkinson would publicly turn on Browning and re-open old wars.

Sargent's luck ran out over the weekend of 15/16 November, however, whilst out drinking with Frain, Stampton, Rob Grey and his brother Steve, at a pub in a small village in Essex. As the beer flowed, the group became rowdy and the Nazi salutes began. Sargent went outside and returned with a bloody nose, at which point the others piled out to confront his assailants.

The police were called and though the men attacked decided not to press charges, Sargent's involvement was logged. He had broken his licence, was arrested and duly returned to prison.



Charlie Sargent (left) with Eddie Stampton

Read the full story of Combat 18 in *White Riot*
www.hopenothate.org.uk/shop/

- Home news is collated and updated on a daily basis at www.hopenothate.org.uk/news/ scan the QR code to see the latest >>
- Investigation: The mosquebuster page 18



NETHERLANDS | Radicalising Mr. Wilders

FROM JEROEN BOSCH FOR *ALERT!* IN AMSTERDAM

IN A PARLIAMENTARY debate at the end of November, right-wing populist Geert Wilders' Freedom Party (PVV) moved further to the right as it launched a new campaign for the Provincial elections in March 2015.

PVV MP Machiel de Graaf stated that "Schools can expect an avalanche of children named after Mohamed, the Netherlands should be de-Islamised; all mosques have to be closed." He added that "Dutch identity is being wiped away by immigration and the womb" and declaring that "The Netherlands would be a fantastic country without Islam".

Defending de Graaf, Wilders said his outburst was not against freedom of religion because "the Islam is not a religion but an ideology".

The campaign for the Provincial elections starts in January and it will be a big test for the government, as the members of the Provinces vote for the Senate where it does not have a majority. At present, the PVV is heading the polls.

Wilders, meanwhile, continues work on his European coalition, speaking at the Front National's congress in Lyon on 29 November. Other guests included Harald Vilimsky of the Austrian Freedom Party and the vice-president of the Russian Duma, a member of Putin's United Russia. Vilimsky and a representative of the Italian Lega Nord spoke about lifting sanctions against Russia.

AUSTRIA | Most wanted Nazi dead

FROM MARTIN JORDAN IN VIENNA

ALOIS BRUNNER, the world's highest ranking Nazi fugitive assumed to be still living, most probably died in Damascus in Syria in 2009 or 2010 according to the Simon Wiesenthal Center (SWC). "We have received information from a former German intelligence agent in the Middle East that Brunner is dead and was buried in Damascus", said Efraim Zuroff, director of the SWC office in Jerusalem and a coordinator of Nazi war crimes research worldwide.

Brunner, an Austrian SS officer responsible for sending at least 140,000 Jews to the gas chambers and an assistant to top war criminal Adolf Eichmann, was condemned to death *in absentia* in France in 1954, the year he fled West Germany to Syria. In 1961 and again in 1980, the Israeli security service tried unsuccessfully to kill Brunner with letter bombs. In Eichmann's memoirs, he described Brunner as his "best man".

In 2011, the German news magazine *Der Spiegel* reported that the German intelligence service (BND) destroyed its files on Brunner in the 1990s, and that remarks in remaining files contain hints that Brunner had worked for the BND.



Alois Brunner, the world's highest ranking Nazi fugitive

SPAIN | Nazi hooligans murder anti-fascist in Madrid

FROM SANDRA CORTÉS IN MADRID FOR ANTIFEIXISTES-ORG

ON 30 NOVEMBER, Francisco Javier Romero (aka "Jimmy"), 43 and follower of Deportivo de la Coruña, died after being beaten and thrown into the river Manzanares by a group of nazi football hooligans from Atlético de Madrid. Jimmy belonged to Riazor Blues – anti-fascist followers of the Galician team – who were attacked by 200 nazis on their arrival in Madrid before the game between the teams.

This brutal murder has caused a stir in Spain and clubs are taking belated action against hooligans in their stadia. Atlético de Madrid has expelled the Frente Atletico and Deportivo has done the same with Riazor Blues.

The Spanish press, however, has not

explained the political background to the 30 November clash.

Among the most active fascist football hooligan groups are the Ultras Sur (Real Madrid), Yomus (Valencia), Ligallo (Zaragoza) or Ultra Boys (Gijón). The most prominent anti-fascist groups include Bukaneros (Rayo Vallecano), Biris (Sevilla), Herri Norte (Bilbao) or Indar Gorri (Pamplona).

FC Barcelona drove the nazi Boixos Nois gang out in 2007 and now Real Madrid apparently aims to do the same with the Ultras Sur. Three people are in custody, awaiting trial: two from Madrid and one from Valencia.



Francisco Javier Romero



Tom Van Grieken

Dávid Janiczak

BELGIUM | Exit Dewinter and Annemans

BY WIM HAELESTERMAN FOR *AFF-VERZET/RÉSISTANCES* IN BRUSSELS.

TOM VAN GRIEKEN, new chairman of the far right Vlaams Belang (VB), has initiated an ambitious renewal strategy aimed at putting his party back on track. Unlike his predecessor Gerolf Annemans, Van Grieken never stops talking about renewal in the media.

The first notable result of his actions is a brand new party council that no longer has former top dog Philip Dewinter or Annemans in its ranks. Both men have been in the leadership since the 1980s and were generally considered indispensable. Dewinter and Annemans were given consolation places in a newly established "Advisory Committee" where they will meet other

relics like Bruno Valkeniers, the former VB chairman.

Van Grieken told the press: "This is a clear signal that I won't be the party's chairman by the grace of Philip Dewinter and Gerolf Annemans. They are my political examples, but they are no longer involved in daily operations."

Dewinter was not amused by the new chairman's unexpected move against him. Jan Penris, a federal MP and "loyal lieutenant" of Dewinter, was also banished from the new board. Dewinter, though, tried to hide his disillusionment in the press by sulking that the party has little chance of survival without Annemans and himself.

HUNGARY | Far right victory in Ózd

ISTVÁN TÓTH REPORTS FROM BUDAPEST

THE FASCIST Jobbik candidate, 27-year-old Dávid Janiczak won the mayoral ballot on 9 November in Hungary's north-eastern former industrial city of Ózd, doubling his support to 64%. The incumbent mayor Pál Fürjes of the right-wing conservative Fidesz got 32% and the Left's candidate a pitiful 3%.

The result is a breakthrough since Jobbik has never won a medium-sized city by such a huge percentage and party leader Gábor Vona hailed the success as further proof that Jobbik is now the only challenger to the ruling Fidesz party.



Sweden Democrats' leader, Jimmie Åkesson

SWEDEN | Racist "coup" flops

BY DANIEL VERGARA FOR EXPO IN STOCKHOLM

THE RACIST Sweden Democrats (SD) hijacked a parliamentary budget vote and briefly toppled Sweden's minority Social Democrat-Green government in December. The SD had been refusing to indicate what budget it would support, hoping to stage a media coup. In Sweden, the practice is that each party or bloc of parties proposes its own budget and the one with the biggest support wins. The SD broke with this custom, backing the mainstream right opposition's budget, tactically voting the government into abject defeat by a margin of 182 votes to 153 and compelling premier Stefan Löfven to announce new elections.

This has now been scrapped, however, following a new budget deal between Löfven's Social Democrat-Greens bloc and the four-party centre-right group known as Alliance. Löfven said the deal, called "The December Agreement", will remain in force until 2022. Earlier, a triumphant SD press conference hit the headlines with news stations broadcasting live as the racists celebrated their (now failed) "coup". In 20 minutes, acting party leader Mattias Karlsson used national TV to blame immigrants for rape, criminality and even bad school results. A journalist who tried to intervene was silenced. The shape of things to come?



Day of National Unity parade in Moscow on 4 November



RUSSIA | "Russian March" hit by splits

ULYANA BOBROVA REPORTS FROM MOSCOW

FEWER THAN 3,000 participants gathered this year in Moscow on 4 November – celebrated in Russia since 2005 as the "Day of National Unity" – for the far right's traditional parade.

Little was seen of the formal motto "Russian March for Russian Unit".

The Kiev Maidan and the emergence of so-called people's republics in the Donbass opened rifts within the ranks of the Russian right.

Most Russian nationalists support the "Russian Spring" and the Kremlin's intervention in Crimean and in eastern Ukraine but estimates of the motives of the Putin leadership vary greatly. Not so with rightist Maidan supporters, who oppose it and make former Ukraine resident Viktor Yanukovich's corrupt regime the centrepiece of their criticism. Some expected participants on the "Russian March" even opted to join a rival event in support of "New Russia".

Alexander Belov, one of the leaders of the fascist "Russkije" movement, has been under house arrest since mid-October. The investigation against him surrounds money laundering and not politics but his arrest, just before Russian nationalism's main annual event, is interpreted in the rightist scene as a clear sign from the Kremlin. A massive deployment of Russian nazis in the capital hardly sit wells with the government and media-promoted image of an anti-fascist state that protects the Russian-speaking population in the Donbass against fascists in the rest of Ukraine.

SERBIA | Crackdown on Serbian fascists

FROM DAŠKO MILINOVIC IN NOVI SAD

SERBIAN POLICE have cracked down on Srbska Akcija (SA), one of the most active and efficiently run Serbian fascist groups, following its anti-Roma campaigning.

SA fascists have leafleted council estates in areas of Belgrade that neighbour Roma settlements, calling on residents to take action against the Roma. In their leaflet, the fascists accuse Roma people of crime, disease-spreading and ask Serbians to use all means to halt the expansion of Roma settlements.

Although this was an action that started last summer, public pressure from anti-fascist groups and individuals

and publication of a leaflet in all major media finally forced the authorities to react in December.

Six SA members were arrested in police raids and the group's self-proclaimed leader turned himself in. The six are charged with inciting racial, national and religious hatred and conspiracy to commit violent crime. Items found in their possession indicate involvement in previous violence against LGBT people, asylum seekers and student protesters.

All arrested are in their mid-20s and their "leader" is a 32-year-old Belgrade lawyer.



Srbska Akcija supporters

Jobbik has tried to soften its image recently, but is still committed to defending ultra-nationalist and chauvinist ideas and thwarting integration of Hungary's desperately poor and marginalised Roma communities.

The Ózd results are not the beginning of a new era of Jobbik dominance in Hungarian politics, however, but are more about how people are disenchanted with both the socialist MSZP and right-wing Fidesz. Not all Jobbik voters hold far right views and not all are racists. They are, however, misguided. While the election is an important and bitter defeat for the Left, it cannot be taken for granted that the democratic opposition will remain fragmented forever.

■ For the latest international news visit www.hopenothate.org.uk/international/ or scan the QR code right >>

■ Not all success for US hate movements 42



ARGENTINA | Army killers investigated

A JUDICIAL investigation has implicated the Argentine army in torture and killings at the secret La Perla internment camp in Cordoba. The La Perla trials are part of 15 ongoing cases related to state crimes committed during the 1976-1983 Argentine military dictatorship. During a hearing, a former Argentine army major accused of crimes against humanity during the dictatorship disclosed the location of a mass grave where he had buried 25 “disappeared”.

Ernesto “el Nabob” Barreiro broke his silence to confess he knew three unidentified burial spots where human remains could be found. After Barreiro’s statements, judges dispatched an

inspection team to locate the sites. Barreiro co-founded a paramilitary state terrorist group called the Libertarian Command of America and was a director of the La Perla camp where torture and executions took place. The investigation, initiated at the end of 2012, includes 25 individual cases, 716 victims and 54 accused.

Between 13,000 and 30,000 suspected subversives were “disappeared,” tortured and killed in the extreme right wing’s military onslaught known as the “dirty war.” Some suspected leftists and sympathizers were drugged and hurled out of aircraft into the Atlantic Ocean or River Plate. Their bodies have still not been found.



Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, a group set up to search for their children who disappeared under the country’s military dictatorship



Zaitokukai, an ultra-nationalist group in Japan

JAPAN | Police watch extremists

JAPANESE POLICE have placed a right-wing extremist group on its watch list for the first time after international pressure to crack down on a rise in hate speech against the country’s Korean minority. In its annual report, the National Police Agency said Zaitokukai, an ultra-nationalist group that claims 15,000 members, should be considered a potential threat to law and order.

Zaitokukai calls for the end to welfare and other “privileges” afforded to about half a million non-naturalised members of Japan’s ethnic Korean community, including the descendants of labourers brought over from the Korean peninsula to work in mines and factories before and during WWII.

It holds demonstrations in cities like Tokyo and Osaka with large Korean populations. Its supporters have described ethnic Koreans as “criminals” and “cockroaches” and called for them to be killed. Police said Zaitokukai and other far right groups had held more than 100 rallies in the first 10 months of this year. The report warned Zaitokukai was a potential threat to the public due to its “extreme nationalist and xenophobic” ideology.



USA | Racists to flock to NYC for Mayfest

FROM ERIC O’NEILL IN NEW YORK

SEVERAL OF THE USA’s most prominent neo-Nationalist bands are set to play at the “Voice of NYC” festival, scheduled for 8-9 May at an undisclosed location in New York City. Two – Offensive Weapon from New York and Brassic from California, – play regular gigs around the country and both are headliners in the far right skinhead scene, leading a revival of Rock Against Communism (RAC).

The line-up at the “Voice of NYC” indicates that the neo-Nationalist skinhead scene is a subculture that is fast growing into an international movement,

with bands even crossing continents to perform. Bands from Finland (Wrongdoers), England (Skinfull) and Mexico (Sun City Skins) will be heading to New York for the event which will see “non-PC” bands and bands with openly racist members all playing under one roof. Phil, lead singer of Battle Cry who is slated to play, is an unabashed racist, often pictured making fascist salutes. Racist Cliff Warby, former drummer of the English RAC band Condemned 84, will be singing RAC cover songs with the California band Para Elite.



Neo-Nationalist band Offensive Weapon from New York

Guest column...

A pivotal moment for racial justice

by Eric K. Ward

On 3 December, a New York grand jury announced that no indictment would be delivered in the police killing of Eric Garner. Following the grand jury decision not to indict the police officer who shot another unarmed black man, Michael Brown, in Ferguson, Missouri in August, this news set off protests across the country.

But these deaths were not isolated incidents: On 22 November in Cleveland, 12-year-old Tamir Rice was shot by police who mistook his toy gun for a real one; on 2 December in Phoenix, police shot Romain Brisbon when they thought he was grasping for a weapon instead of the medication he was actually reaching for and, on 8 December, 22-year-old Cedric Barteaux was shot by police officers in Florida. Witnesses report that Barteaux had his hands up at the time of the shooting.

While the relentless pace and intensity of this violence can leave us feeling discouraged and hopeless, there is room for significant optimism. We are in a pivotal moment, one filled with opportunity for the racial justice field. In ways we have not seen before, these killings are being brought to public attention and generating significant outcry.

Cultural figures, including country star Garth Brooks, comedian Chris Rock and players from the St. Louis Rams American football team and from the Brooklyn Nets basketball club, are making public statements in opposition to police violence, making the issue increasingly hard to ignore. We are seeing broad-based coalitions coalesce around racism targeting blacks. And we are seeing emerging leadership that is young, multi-racial and



Eric Garner died while being arrested by police in Staten Island USA

national in scope, exercising tactics and strategies that are grounded in a deep analysis of systemic racism and that prioritise people-centred democracy.

In this movement, there is no single charismatic leader and no single anchor institution. National organisations are not driving the agenda but instead playing support roles that amplify on-the-ground organising. By creating social tension through non-violent direct actions (mainly targeting commerce and transportation), young leaders have effectively nationalised the killings of Michael Brown and Eric Garner. Their incredible energy has produced significant pressure that has compelled the White House and the Department of Justice to announce federal changes to policing practices, the creation of a commission to study police violence, and federal review of racial profiling guidelines. As I

write, protests have entered their 124th consecutive day.

Now is a moment when each of us should seriously consider what role we play in supporting these emerging leaders and their growing network. The Neighborhood Funders Group has launched a new tool for philanthropists and others looking for more information and ways to engage in this movement moment. (You can learn more by visiting Funders for Justice: <http://fundersforjustice.org>.) The site serves as a virtual information hub to help philanthropists and donors support efforts in Ferguson, related organising across the country and community-based efforts to strengthen inclusive

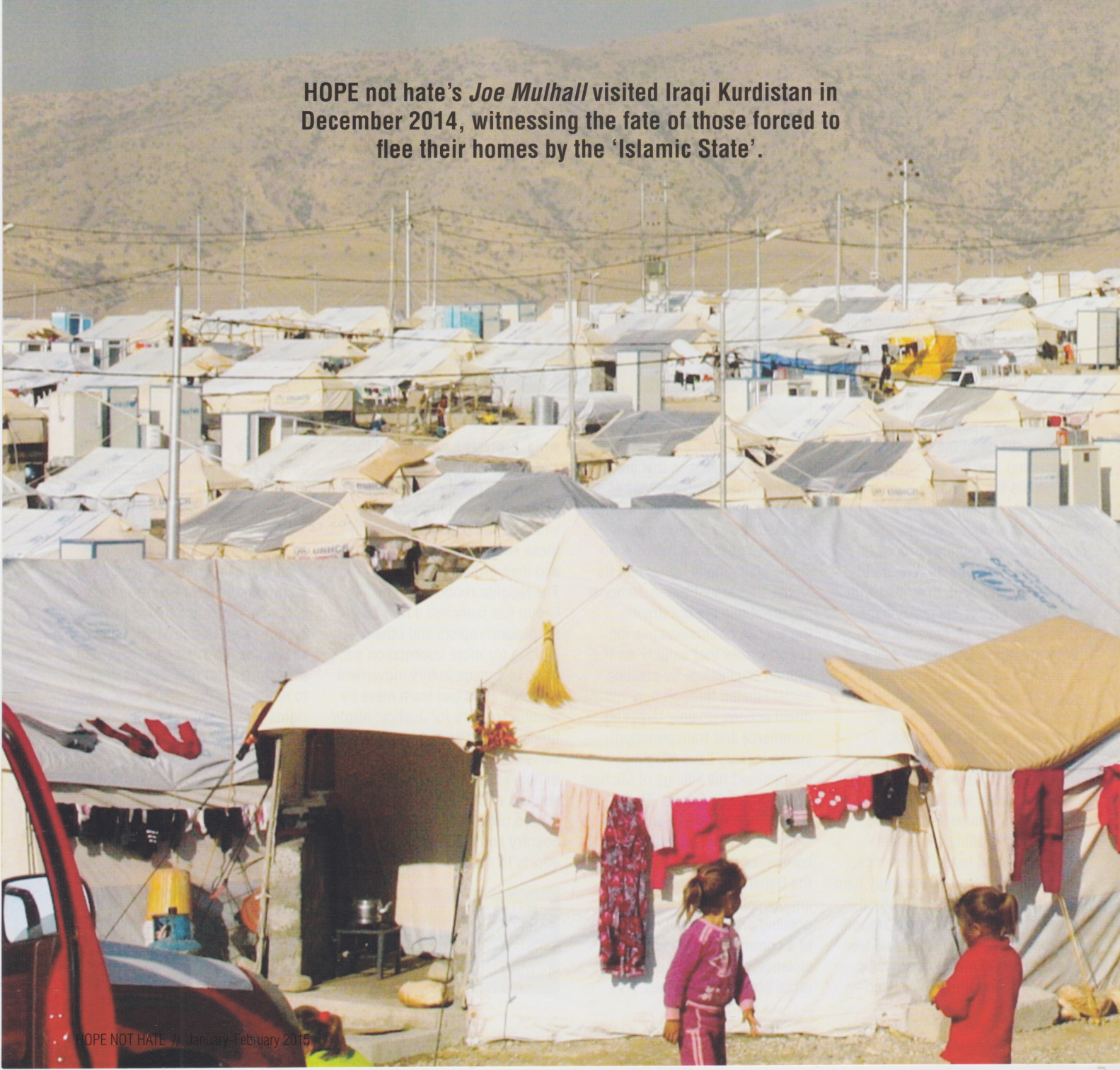
democracy. The new online space includes news and events, opportunities for funders and analysis, case studies and reports.

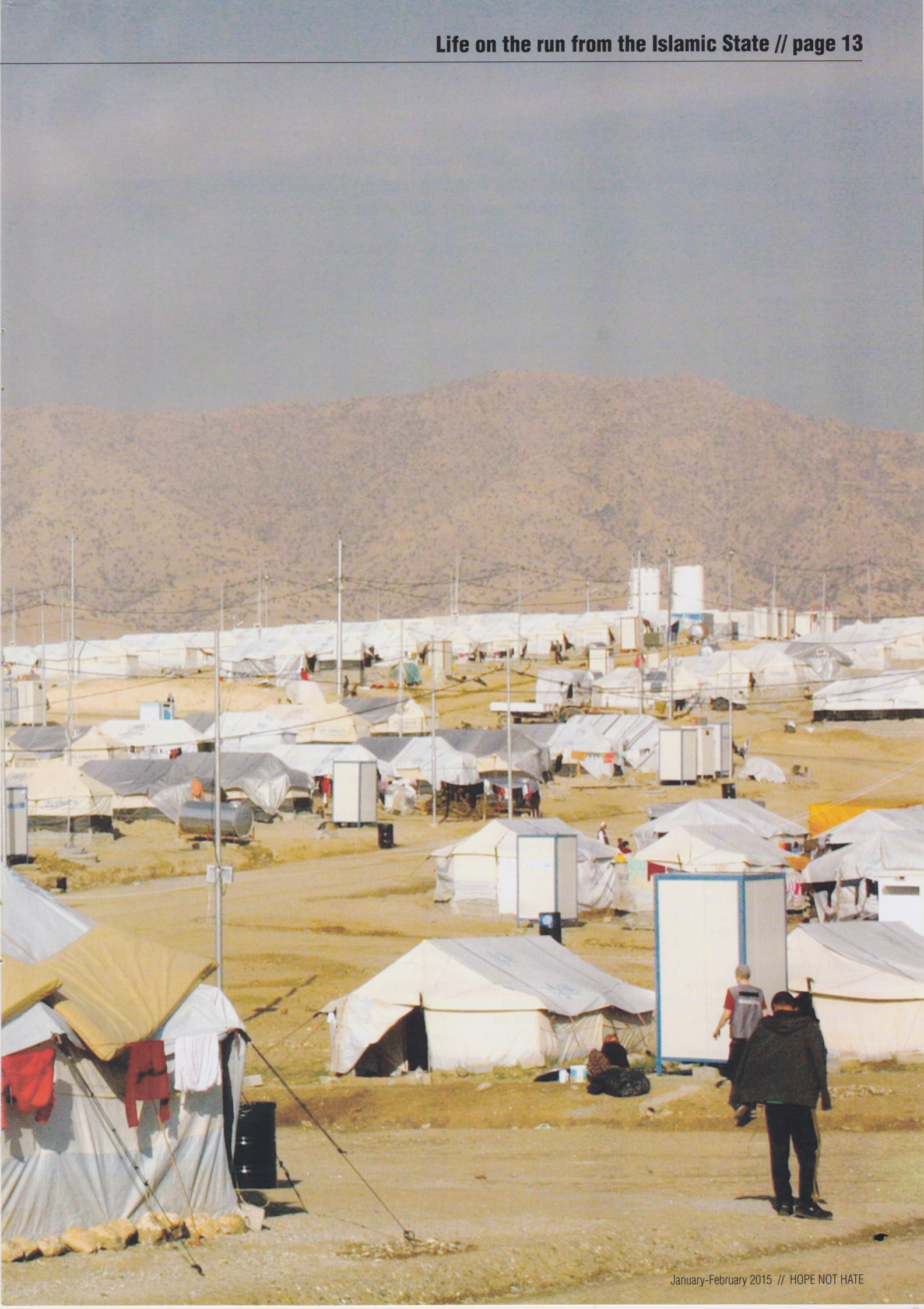
What is happening today is an Ella Baker moment. Baker was a leading civil rights strategist committed to youth-centred local action as a means of change. Her commitment to non-violent direct action, locally organised, provided the momentum that was needed to nationalise the 1960s civil rights movement in the South. Like Ella, this emerging leadership is also conceptualising an inclusive democracy – one that is people-centred, locally supported, transparent and accountable. They need and deserve our support.

■ Eric Ward is the Program Officer, Advancing Racial Justice and Minority Rights at the Ford Foundation. This piece first appeared on the Foundation's website and has been reproduced with their permission. www.fordfoundation.org

Life on the run from the Islamic State

HOPE not hate's *Joe Mulhall* visited Iraqi Kurdistan in December 2014, witnessing the fate of those forced to flee their homes by the 'Islamic State'.







There is a women who's had surgery, she needs to be warm but there is nothing to heat the place [...]. She was pregnant but she was so tired and too cold... she lost her baby.



Yazidi man in informal settlement Zakho

The lady was lying on the dusty concrete floor on the first level of an unfinished building, protected from the rapidly cooling winter winds by a tied blue tarpaulin. She was one of 70 people living across two floors and sharing just one toilet in this informal settlement in Zakho in northern Iraq, just a few kilometres from the Turkish border.

This was just one of numerous similar situations in the Zakho district, almost all inhabited by Yazidis from Sinjar who were fleeing the advance of the Islamic State (IS). It is hard to believe but these people, along with the many thousands more in the formal camps, are the lucky ones.

They are the survivors.

Flight

The barbarism of the IS and the unimaginable experiences of its victims have shocked, saddened and infuriated the world in equal measure. However, those caught, mutilated and murdered remain the minority. What of the lives of those who survived, who fled and escaped IS's terror?

They are the living victims.

The rise of IS has dramatically escalated the number of refugees fleeing Syria, while in Iraq the

expansion of IS has affected over 5.2 million people with nearly two million being displaced between December 2013 and November 2014.

However, with the recent history of instability and war in Iraq, this mass of refugees is flocking to the camps of already-internally displaced people (IDPs), some of whom left their homes as long ago as 2004. The picture in Syria is perhaps even more complicated with some nine million Syrians having been displaced since the outbreak of civil war in 2011. Three million of these have crossed the borders into Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq, while 6.5 million are internally displaced inside Syria.

Life in the camps

What is life like in the camps for the millions who have been forced to leave their homes and possessions and seek refuge in the tented cities that have sprung up across northern Iraq? There are millions of displaced people, all with different backgrounds, different circumstances and situations and importantly they are spread across different camps and informal settlements. All have their own story, as does each camp.

That said, there are commonalities that stand out. As with any area of settlement

numbering thousands, there is good and bad to be found and, unsurprisingly with so many desperate people, there is crime and prostitution. But the camps are not just holding pens for victims, they are communities where people live. The men, women and children who have taken refuge under the tarpaulins and tents are not just hiding: they are living.

Kawergosk Camp, perilously positioned just down the road from IS-occupied Mosul, is home to around 10,000 Syrian refugees. As you drive over a hill, an expanse of white tents unfolds before you, more a town than a camp. Orderly rows of these tents, emblazoned with the United Nations logo, bring to mind every refugee camp you have ever seen on television. Yet, as you drive through the gates, park and walk into the camp itself, a different reality begins to emerge.

Turning the corner you find yourself on what can only be described as a shopping or high street. Little shacks line both sides of the road, bustling with everything from money exchanges that will change dollars, Iraqi Dinars and even Euros, to restaurants, barber shops and video game stores. Shoppers peruse the available wares while school kids head off to class, bags in hand.

It is not uncommon to

find televisions with satellite dishes, cookers and fridges inside the tents. The ingenuity and invention is remarkable, with the tents often being extended with second and sometimes even third rooms built of wood, concrete and bricks. In a matter of months, these people have managed to turn mere tents into new homes.

Life, of course, is very far from perfect. If you are willing to listen, there are plenty of people willing to tell you exactly why. Complaints range from a lack of privacy (parents unable to 'hug' while sharing a space with their children), through to missing favourite TV shows because 'the reception is rubbish'. However, mundane problems like these, while plentiful, are just the tip of the iceberg.

While these often-ingeniously extended homes undoubtedly make the lives of the refugees better, people are going nowhere fast. The average life of a *refugee camp* is 17 years and while many will leave, find work, rent houses and move on, many will not. Often, they have lost everything except some savings that will not last forever and the concrete bases that waterproof their tents must simultaneously act as a constant reminder that they will not be going home any time soon, perhaps ever.

As winter draws in and the

“ The ISIS emir answered me in a harsh tone:
 “Why? Do you have your house here? Do you have your
 village here? This is not your village and you have no house.
 I don't want to see you talk about a house here.
 You don't belong here. By tomorrow not one of you
 will remain here or come back here”. ”

Kurdish interviewee forced from his home in northern Aleppo
 Interview in United Nations Report of the Independent International Commission of Inquiry on
 the Syrian Arab Republic: Rule of Terror: Living under ISIS in Syria, (14 November 2014)



first snow appears in the air, new challenges arise. Fleeing in the dry Middle Eastern summer, most left with just the clothes on their back, meaning that today around 60% of these displaced peoples have no winter coats and 90% have less than one coat per person in a family.

Since the IS occupied several oil refineries, there have been oil shortages in the camps, leading to problems with cooking and keeping warm. Tragically, some have turned to watering down the kerosene, an act that, in turn,

has led to stoves exploding.

Jallal, a Yazidi IDP from Sinjar now living in Khanke Camp, explained: “Life in this camp is good but we are afraid of one thing burning. The tents are too near to each other. Five tents have set ablaze and up until now three children and one woman have died.”

Similar fires have occurred at other camps including Harsham, a small settlement just outside Erbil, the largest city and capital of Iraqi Kurdistan. A makeshift fruit and veg stand plays host to a

group of 10 understandably angry men, all explaining how a recent fire burned down a tent in around 14 seconds. This time the women inside escaped.

Talking to this group of gesticulating figures, it became clear that IS's expansion has affected the lives of millions of people in ways that are not immediately obvious. Apart from the capture of refineries, sometimes hundreds of miles away, IS's control of arable land has pushed up prices and reduced rations in neighbouring areas. Even

though the refugees have escaped, the IS still has the power to make their lives worse.

The coming winter poses major problems for all camps and while most are of a remarkably high quality – camps such as Kawergosk, Bagid Kandela and Chamishku – a rare few fall well below these standards.

As you turn off the main road onto a dirt track and head to within spitting distance of where Iraq, Syria and Turkey all meet, you encounter a small forgotten



The Rise of the Islamic State (IS)

THE RISE OF THE ISLAMIC STATE from non-existence to a fully existing state has happened with remarkable and alarming speed.

Understandably many have been reticent to use the name “Islamic State” (IS), fearing that its adoption legitimises the group’s claims to have resurrected the historical Islamic Caliphate. Even Australian Prime Minister Tony Abbott has argued that “To use this term [Islamic State] is to dignify a death cult”. But for all intents and purposes, it is a functioning (albeit terrorist) statelet.

Estimates vary widely but the IS is somewhere between the size of Belgium and Great Britain, occupying swathes of land in Syria and Iraq and, more recently, small areas of Libya such as the town of Derna (100,000 people) and parts of Egypt’s Sinai Peninsula. In total, it now has military allies in 11 countries and support in 61 regions via 31 groups.

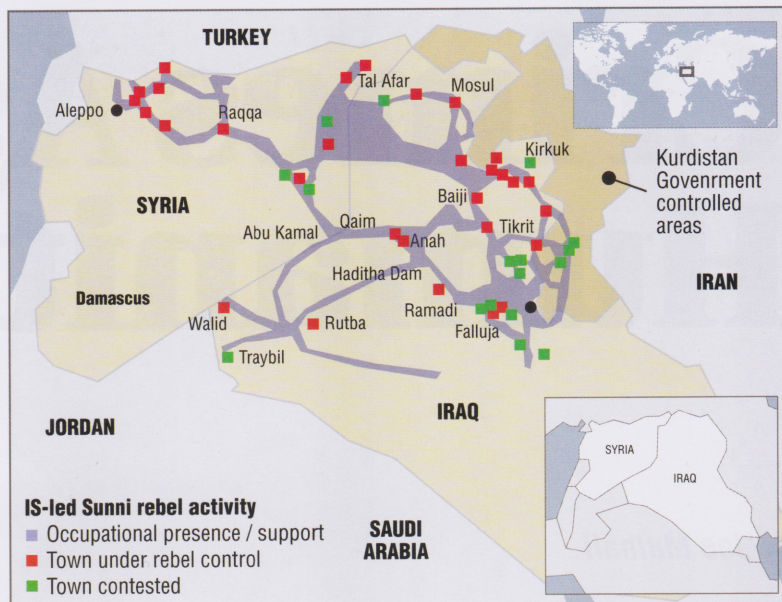
Its armed forces are estimated at anywhere between 30,000 and 200,000 militants while its value in cash and assets is an estimated \$2,000,000,000, with an income of \$3,000,000 a day from oil and gas exports alone. Internally, the state has a legal system based on a super-strict interpretation of Islamic law (Sharia), which is supported by a religious police force – the *Hisbah* – which mercilessly enforces compliance and distributes posters around occupied cities, showing citizens “how” to pray and prescribing how women should dress.

The group emerged as just one of hundreds of militant groups in Syria, which has served as something of a primordial swamp for armed factions in the last few years. However, its earliest origins date back to 2004 with

the creation of Al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) by Abu Musab Al-Zarqawi, the ‘Emir of Al Qaeda in the Country of Two Rivers’.

Following mergers with other like-minded militants in 2006, AQI rebranded itself as the Islamic State of Iraq (ISI) and, in 2011, then led by Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, joined forces such as the Al-Qaeda affiliate Jabhat Al-Nusra in the fight against government forces in Syria. The union was fleeting however, with a hostile split emerging in April 2013 – ISIL (Islamic State in Iraq and Levant) as it became known, was more concerned with the consolidation of power and the creation of a state than fighting the Syrian government – and ISIL subsumed much of Al-Nusra’s capabilities, with armed confrontations between the two in 2014.

By February 2014, after many months of arguments Al-Qaeda finally cut all ties with ISIL citing its “notorious intransigence”. Despite this, 2014 has been a year of remarkable expansion for the group. Between late December 2013 and the end of May 2014, it made gains in the Anbar province in western Iraq with bloody fighting in Fallujah and Ramadi. In June and July, it took control of Iraq’s second city of Mosul and spread across Nineveh and the central governorates of Salah Al Din, Diyala and Kirkuk. It was during these sizeable advances that it once again changed its name, this time from ISIL to Islamic State. In August, it captured the towns of Sinjar, Zumar, and Wana in northern Iraq. Then in October, the near-collapse of the Iraqi army saw IS advance on Baghdad, taking it to within just 25km of the city’s airport. In addition to all of these remarkable land grabs has been the accumulation of other small pockets of territory, such as the town of Derna in Libya.

Areas Under
ISIS Control

camp called Deirabon. Here, perched on the edge of a hill with a vista that plunges down to Syria one way and Turkey the other, lives a community of 1,200 Yazidis who fled from Sinja.

The camp, made up of large communal tents, was not managed but rather had sprung up spontaneously, occupied and seemingly abandoned to fend for itself bar the odd delivery of water. The toilets were unhygienic open pits within smelling distance of the tents. The tents themselves had no floor, thin and threadbare mattresses lying on open gravel and mud. Camp residents had received just one food delivery in the past three months, meaning they had had to scrape together what money they could to buy provisions from the local town. The diarrhoea that afflicted the camp in the summer had given way to hypothermia as increasingly bitter winter winds whipped across the top of the hill into the exposed huddle of tents. This was a world away from the buzzing town-like camps of Kawergosk or Bagid Kandela with their televisions and fridges.

Refugee Crisis

If you look at the fallout of the much-publicised battle for Kobane in northern Syria, you can understand not only the scale but also nature of the

arduous journey that refugees have been forced to make as a result of the IS's attacks.

The month following 16 September saw between 170,000 and 200,000 people cross the border into Suruc, Turkey. Many then organised their own travel along the border between Turkey and Syria, until they reached the town of Silopi which sits between Iraq, Turkey and Syria. The journey took up to 10 days. Some then spent another 10 days in the border town waiting to be allowed across the border into Zakho in northern Iraq. For some, this has been the end of their journey but others they were then moved again, this time by the Kurdish authorities, to camps such as Gawilan Camp further south.

Of course, northern Iraq has not only had to deal with the thousands of people fleeing Syria but an ever-increasing number of internally displaced people resulting from IS's eastwards expansion. Their ethno-religious background often heavily influences the final destination of those in flight.

The displacement of the Shabak and Turkmen Shia, for instance, happened in two stages. Between early June and early August 2014, communities from Tal Afar fled towards Zummar and Sinjar, which were protected by Kurdish forces, while

communities in Namrud and Mosul escaped towards the Nineveh Plain. However, when IS then expanded this triggered a wave of secondary displacement, sending IDPs towards the Kurdish region of northern Iraq or all the way to Shia governorates enclaves in South Central Iraq, a journey made by car or plane.

This process of secondary displacement also affected the Christian minorities in the Nineveh Plain. In June and July, around 50,000 Christians fled Mosul for a number of towns in the plains but, when IS expanded again in early August, they had to move again, this time joined by a further 150,000 Christians from the Hamdinya, Tilkaif and Shiha districts.

Therefore, contrary to what one might assume, people do not just flee to the nearest safe haven but rather head towards predestined locations influenced by the perception of the welcome they will receive. As such, Christians have fled to other Christian areas, Yazidis to Yazidi areas, Shia to Shia areas, etc.

One of the underreported aspects of this movement of people is the negative demographic impact it has and can cause in this part of the Middle East. While it would be absurd to suggest Iraq was previously some sort of multicultural utopia – many were persecuted by

Saddam Hussein's Ba'athist regime – it had towns and cities with minority communities including Yazidis, Shia Muslims, Assyrian, Syriac, Chaldean and Armenian Christians, Druze, Mandeans and Shabaks, some of which have lived in the region for over a thousand years. The ruthless expansion of IS has forced many of these groups to flee, turning once mixed areas into homogeneously Sunni regions. The understandable desire of minority groups to seek refuge within similar communities has meant that a once ethnically-mixed province has stratified along ethno-religious lines.

Some have left the region altogether, with Christians often fleeing to Europe while many Christian refugees in northern Iraq have already stated they have no intention of going home even if IS is defeated. Other minority groups feel the same. Despite often having ancient roots in the towns and cities they formerly inhabited, trust has broken down completely; these displaced minorities have witnessed their former neighbours turn on them and do not intend to return and live among them, even if this one day becomes possible. Lines are being redrawn, not just on the map but among the peoples of the Middle East too.

Crimes Against Humanity

By Joe Mulhall

DESPITE THE LOUD protestations of militant Islamists like Anjem Choudary, the evidence of crimes against humanity perpetrated by the Islamic State is shocking and ever increasing.

Those who have found themselves living inside the Islamic State (IS) have been subject to a ruthless and murderous assault on their freedom and human rights. Opposition is silenced by the sword and the gun. Anything short of total obedience is met with the use of brutal and barbaric force. Once such rule of force has been established, extreme fear often ensures compliance.

IS's religious police, the *Hisbah*, implements an iron-fisted rule without mercy and is involved in every aspect of life – from the arrest and murder of apostates right down to ensuring a women's veil is made of the correct material. Strict implementation of the Sharia (Islamic law and moral code) means that amputation of hands for theft, fingers for smoking and the use of the lash for minor infractions have become part of daily life. As T.H. White writes in his Arthurian novel *The Once and Future King*, "Everything not

forbidden is compulsory".

However, while the IS has forced its subjects to comply with a brutal new lifestyle, it has also been the agent of widespread death. Shootings, beheading and the stoning of men, women and children have become commonplace. In Aleppo, Ar-Raqqah, Idlib, Al-Hasakah and Dayr Az-Zawr governorates among others, the sight of severed heads and mutilated bodies displayed in public squares has become the norm.

IS's willingness to use such methods is rooted in the practise of *takfir*, essentially the idea of excommunication. IS militants justify their homicidal actions by declaring Muslims who disagree with them as apostates, a crime punishable by death, and all non-Muslims living under their rule as *kafir* or infidels, a legitimate target of jihad.

Thousands of Yazidi people, a predominantly Kurdish ethno-religious group whose monotheistic creed combines elements of ancient Mesopotamian religions and the Persian faith of Zoroastrianism, have been shot, tortured, buried alive or sold into slavery.

Sadly, the Yazidi are just one of numerous minority groups



“if you look now in the area controlled by the Islamic state, the Jews, the Muslims and the Christians are living side by side in security. It is not true that people are being slaughtered.”

Anjem Choudary (British-based Islamist)

to find themselves in this position with Shia Muslims, Assyrian, Syriac, Chaldean and Armenian Christians, Druze, Mandeans and Shabaks all being mercilessly put to the sword by IS fanatics as they have advanced through Syria and into Iraq.

In essence, all religious diversity is being eradicated inside the IS, with all non-Sunni Muslims being forced to either assimilate or flee their homes. For those who choose to stay, centuries of tradition and life have been fundamentally and irrevocably altered. While freedom of religion has been abolished, some non-Muslims can remain by paying *Jizya* a special tax, which is paid in cash, or sometimes in flesh with daughters being taken as slaves. None of this eases the constant fear of forced conversion, expulsion or execution.

Refugees who have fled the IS talk of the systematic

nature of the persecution they faced. IS spies are said to enter towns to pick targets before a full invasion. Once an area is occupied, they make use of the records offices in that town to identify possible enemies and religious minorities. They then mark the doors of houses owned by *kafir*. Christian houses are daubed with the Arabic letter *nun* inside a red circle signifying *nasrani* (Christian) while Shiite Muslim property is marked with an Arabic 'r' signifying *rwafidh* (rejecters).

Among dozens of others, IS has destroyed several Christian churches in Ar-Raqqah province including a Greek Catholic Church, and Armenian Orthodox churches in Raqqah city, Tel Abyad and Dayr Az-Zawr. Since it has advanced further into Iraq and taken the town of Mosul, it has proceeded to destroy Yazidi and Kakei shrines outside the city. Muslim holy sites are also being levelled,



Yazidi refugees find shelter in vacant store front and unfinished buildings in Zakho Iraqi Kurdistan. Photo: Christ Church Jerusalem

such as the Uwais Al-Qarni Shi'a Mosque. Even some Sunni mosques, considered idolatrous for being constructed around tombs or shrines of religious figures, are being blown up.

However, there are some in the Islamic State society for whom their very nature is a death sentence, for whom the options of paying the *Jizya* or exile will never be offered. There are increasing reports of the murder of gay men. While homosexuality has long

been criminalised in Syrian society with a maximum sentence of three years, and only tacitly decriminalised in Iraq, the "crime" now results in a bloody death. IS militants have produced videos likening homosexuality to paedophilia and describing LGBT people as "animals" and "the worst of all creatures".

Predictably, in any state as barbaric as this, the punishment of stoning, the act of bludgeoning someone to death by throwing rocks

– not too large that death comes quickly – has not been reserved solely for use against gay people. There are an increasing number of women being stoned for adultery, with the IS magazine *Dabiq* bragging about carrying out the act in its Syrian base of Raqqa. This is part of a wider offensive against women's rights in what was already a patriarchal society. Women are now largely confined to their homes and, once they reach the age of 10, must

not be seen in public unless fully covered.

Non-Muslim women, especially Yazidi, have suffered horribly with thousands being kidnapped and forced into sex slavery to IS's male fighters. IS has released videos of its slave markets where women are sold to the highest bidder. Unsurprisingly, it is not hard to find anecdotal evidence of several women committing suicide to end the torture.

Our Voice

Getting marginalised communities registered and heard by *Elisabeth Pop*



Only 85% of adults in Britain are registered to vote, meaning that approximately 7 million people are not. Worse still, there are certain groups that are disproportionately unlikely to be registered to vote, including:

- 44% of 19-24 year-olds
- 23% of people from BME communities
- 44% of people living in private rented accommodation
- 22% of students are not registered

WITH SEVEN MILLION adults not registered to vote in the UK and low registration disproportionately affecting poor and marginalised communities, HOPE not hate is launching a Voter Registration campaign next month.

We will seek to register 25,000 new voters with specific emphasis on the most marginalised communities and those experiencing racial, religious and community tensions and extremist activity.

Through encouraging local community organisations to be central to this registration effort, we also hope to provide a platform through which marginalised communities can express their concerns and get their issues heard by politicians.

UNIQUENESS

There are many really good and exciting Voter Registration initiatives taking place in the run up to the 2015 General Election, some of which we will be actively supporting. However, we do believe that our project is both unique and very important:

- It is focused – The campaign will seek to register the most hard-to-reach groups in society who are currently least likely to be on the electoral register
- It is targeted – The campaign will target those communities that are

experiencing racial and community tensions and extremist activity

■ It is supportive – Through a series of training sessions and online tools, the project focuses heavily on providing training and logistical support for community, faith and student organisations to help them understand the process and run their own campaigns

■ It is issue-led – The campaign understands that “anger” is the best motivator for action, so we will encourage people to register as a means to address their own concerns

There are three key elements to the OUR Voice campaign. The first focuses on raising awareness, the second is training and advice for community and faith organisations and, finally, there will be a Democracy Week in early March in which we will run targeted and intensive Voter Registration drives in key communities across the country.

The campaign is being supported by the National Union of Teachers who, in addition to supporting the campaign financially, will be encouraging their members to get involved and even run Voter Registration campaigns in their schools and colleges.

HOPE not hate is also linking up with the *Daily Mirror* and Unite the Union to run a Voter Registration

bus tour across England and Wales. Over the course of two weeks at the beginning in March, the bus will tour the country, dropping in on University campuses, churches and mosques, city centres and local community centres, all with the aim of encouraging people to register.

In collaboration with the communications company Mass 1, who have produced the Vote Booster software, we will have the technology to sign people up to the register on the bus.

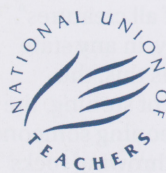
These are difficult economic and political times. Sadly, too many people feel excluded and ignored and, consequently, either drop out of engaging with wider society or look to extremist solutions as an easy

alternative. The OUR Voice campaign seeks to address this problem by trying to register the unregistered and give a platform to those who feel most excluded.



Our Voice

Engaging and registering marginalised communities





March for England
Brighton April 2014



Lee Rigby
Sentencing
Old Bailey
February
2014

THE STATE OF HATE IN 2014

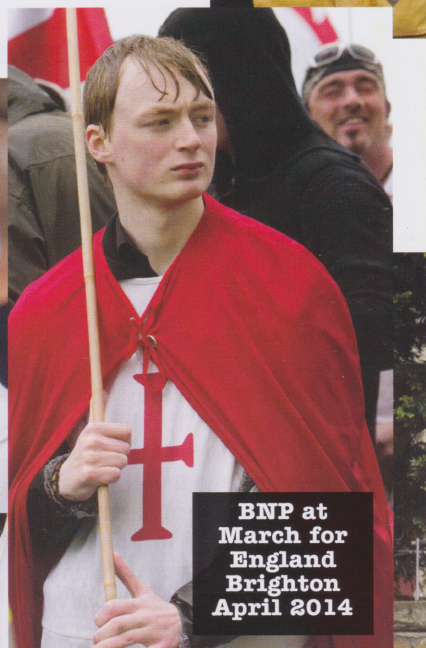
Research by Matthew Collins and Carl Morphet



NF White Pride
Swansea April 2014



EDL Peter-
borough
March 2014



BNP at
March for
England
Brighton
April 2014



EVF/SEA
Parliament
March 2014





Stumbling, struggling but potential not extinguished

Nick Lowles and Matthew Collins review the state of the British far right as it enters 2015

The scenario could not have been better for the British far right. A report gets released into child sexual abuse in a depressed northern town that had long been a “stronghold” for the BNP.

At least 1,400 girls have been abused in Rotherham, the vast majority of them white and the vast majority of the perpetrators Muslim. The report talks of a political and police cover-up, indifference on the part of the authorities and a fear amongst some professionals of being deemed racist if they moved to take action.

The report coincided with the emergence of ISIS – a terrifying band of Islamist extremists who were beheading Westerners, enslaving and raping women and murdering anyone not succumbing to its interpretation of Islam.

Many people – including people who would not normally vocalise such thoughts – start to make the connection and decide that there is something deeply troubling with Islam and its followers.

And the British far right mobilised. The British

National Party, Britain First, the National Front and the English Defence League all took to the streets in protest, hoping to tap into local anger and whip up tensions even further.

And yet, despite these favourable circumstances, none were able to capitalise. They all had their demonstrations but they were relatively poorly attended and were overshadowed by violence as the various groups fought out their personal and political differences.

The events in Rotherham reflected a dreadful year for the British far right. Against a depressed economy, fear of violent Islamism and rising anti-migrant rhetoric in the public mainstream, this should be time to make hay. Instead, the far right is shrinking, divided and increasingly leaderless.

* * *

The British far right ends 2014 in its worst state for almost 20 years. The BNP hardly exists and its electoral effort is in tatters. The EDL, which has provided a street option for a new generation of anti-Muslim activists and fringe nationalists over the past

five years has dwindled, split and split again. The British Democratic Party, formed by former BNP organisers, has not got off the ground and Britain First, which looked most likely to fill the void left by the others ends the year in painful and slow organisational decline.

The three key events of 2014 were Nick Griffin's political demise, the roller coaster fortunes of Britain First and the emergence of a new generation of hardline antisemites ensconced in national socialist ideology.

Nick Griffin's fall from grace has been as dramatic as it has been predictable. Losing his European Parliament seat – and the lucrative income it gave him as well as funding BNP office staff, being replaced as chairman and then expelled from the party – means 2014 has been an absolute disaster for him.

However, Griffin's personal calamity mirrored the decline in the party's fortunes too. In May's local elections, the party was only able to hold on to one council seat and rarely broke into double figures percentages in most of the other wards it contested.

Membership is down to just a fraction of what it was

a few years ago and, while the party is at least solvent, this is principally down to huge cuts in staffing and the benefit of a few large bequests and, of course, removing Griffin himself, a ticking financial time-bomb, from around its neck.

Of course the BNP, NF and English Democrats have all been adversely affected by the rise of UKIP, which has steamrollered through their previous heartlands and stolen their voters. While UKIP is not the BNP and Farage is not Griffin, it is clear that most former BNP voters feel quite at home in the UKIP stable.

However, it would be wrong to put the decline of Britain's far right simply down to UKIP. The BNP's electoral decline began before the rise of UKIP and, over the last few years, the focus has been more on street activism rather than the ballot box and even these groups are declining.

Splits were not just confined to the BNP. The National Front split in two and, as a result of on-going legal action, the party was deregistered by the Electoral Commission. It is roughly a North/South split, which has become increasingly



acrimonious on and offline.

Following the departure of Stephen Lennon, in October 2013, the EDL has stumbled on with little success. It set up a collegiate form of leadership but further resignations and personal and political feuds have largely rendered the group ineffective.

Marches continue, but attendance continues to fall and there is little national media attention now that Lennon is no longer on hand.

Splinter groups, such as the South East Alliance, have all gone off in search of "unity" but this has repeatedly proved elusive as, invariably, they turn on each other, often violently.

Even Britain First, which at one point looked likely to replace the BNP and EDL as the preeminent group on the far right, has faltered and lost direction since the departure of its founder, Jim Dowson.

One worrying development during the last year has been the emergence of National Action (NA), a small but hardline nazi group that emerged out of the BNP but now works closely with the British Movement. While it has only got 30-40 key activists, it appears highly motivated, busy and politically coherent. Its response to the conviction of Garron Helm for running an antisemitic campaign against Labour MP Luciana Berger, which led her to receive 20 death threats and over 2,000 hate tweets, was as shocking as it was surprising, not only to us but to the staff at Twitter, who had not experienced anything like it before.

Given the youthful age of NA activists – with most in their late teens and early twenties – the adoption of national socialist ideas

by NA is a concern and a constituency that has been missing during the BNP's successful days.

An ageing process has also affected Blood&Honour, which is now little more than a bi-monthly 80s theme night for an ever decreasing group of heavily tattooed, middle-aged and elderly, men and women with a propensity for violence. Their gigs are smaller and, with the average age of attendees now in the forties, the movement has little or no relevance any more.

An increasingly confident and aggressive anti-fascist movement has also affected the fortunes of the far right. While HOPE not hate focuses on the electoral and community threat posed by far right groups, more street-militant groups have been taking them on which has in turn demoralised them further.

Yet despite its obvious decline, there have been some commentators and journalists only too eager to believe the far right's online hype and too lazy to analyse anything beyond social media. Reports of a plethora of new organisations emerging in the UK over the past year have failed to

comprehend or to explain that this is because much larger organisations have split and splintered.

Stories about the huge success of the far right online bear little resemblance to what is actually happening in the real world. When *The Sun* reported on the worrying rise of the Britain First, it neglected to mention that a national march the group held only the week before attracted just 50 people.

One of the problems facing the British far right is over its own identity. Given Britain's changing demographics, it is hard to believe that any traditional far right group – which campaigns for an exclusive, all-white Britain – can ever be successful or popular again. But, at the same while an anti-Muslim organisation – tapping into concern about popular concern over Islamist extremism and harping on cultural differences – does have much greater potential, the activists on whom it relies upon find it hard to disengage from their old racist and thuggish tendencies and beliefs.

Of course, one day it might find the necessary ingredients to be more successful but, as we enter 2015, that seems some way off. In the meantime, the direct threat will be localised and small scale. As we saw with Ryan

McGee, the serving soldier caught with a bomb in his house, he had links to the EDL but was acting alone.

That is not to say that things could not change. The poor

state of the far right is largely of its own making and so could change quickly through external events – such as a terrorist attack or another child sexual abuse scandal – and the emergence or re-emergence of a "charismatic" leader.

While it is hard to see from where such a new leader will emerge, at least in the short term, there is one man out there who could easily galvanise their fortunes: Stephen Lennon.

He has the charisma, following and media savviness to reignite the British far right if he chooses to return to frontline activity. And he knows it. Whilst far right groups were trading punches and abuse in Rotherham, Lennon was privately telling people that things would have been very different if he was still involved. And they undoubtedly would have been.

HOPE not hate understands that Lennon is currently mulling over his choices. We are aware that he is being actively encouraged to re-engage, once his probationary licence is over this summer, by many of his followers and the more shadowy figures that were behind the EDL. But, he will probably also recognise the huge personal risks that come with it which, as we have seen so graphically over the past year, will mean that he will be left to carry the can alone when things go wrong.

The British far right enters 2015 as a divided and weak movement but, while this is likely to remain the case over the next year, the conditions exist for this to change very quickly.

Stephen Lennon has the charisma, following and media savviness to reignite the British far right



British National Party



Ideology: Racial nationalist.

Membership: 500.

Leadership: Adam Walker (Chairman), Clive Jefferson, Patrick Harrington.

Online: The party still has a healthy following both on Twitter and Facebook but its presence has been weakened by key personnel leaving in droves. Much of the party's online apparatus is either dormant or suspended due to internal strife. The party website is a poor shadow of its former self.

Activities: During the local and European elections, the party was active in London, Surrey, East Midlands, the North East, County Durham, North West, Dorset and Essex. The party stood 107 candidates in the local and mayoral elections and 70 European candidates. To say its electioneering was sporadic would be an understatement. The new leadership team seems particularly keen to reinvigorate South Yorkshire and has held activities in Rotherham as a result the grooming scandal there. It failed, however, to stand a candidate for the Police and Crime Commissioner Elections despite claiming to have had a healthy response to an appeal for funds for a candidate to stand.

There have been BNP meetings/activities in Poole, Croydon, St Helens, Derby, Manchester, Salford, Tameside, Liverpool, Burnley, Bolton, Wigan, Chester, Dagenham, Thurrock, Grays, Newcastle, Gateshead, Cumbria, Spennymoor, Rotherham, Barnsley, Leeds, Ilford and Woolwich but it has failed to sink any roots or create any legacy whatsoever.



Clive Jefferson and Adam Walker

SUMMARY OF 2014: This was the year that the BNP collapsed electorally and organisationally. The 2014 elections were an unmitigated disaster for Britain's far right groups. Nick Griffin lost his European seat in the North West and nationally the BNP secured just 179,694 votes, a 1.14% share, well down on the 6.4% it received in 2009.

By July, Griffin was forced to stand down as leader to become Party President and he proceeded to launch a series of spectacularly ill-prepared and ill-thought-out attacks on his successors who, in turn, had apparently given no thought on how best to dispose of him quietly.

From within a party already on its knees came not one but two splinter groups. Before Griffin could properly launch a bid to get himself reinstated as party leader, a swathe of his closest supporters (and family) found themselves purged from their party positions. Those who were not purged graciously, and ridiculously, did a "Spartacus" and offered themselves up to Griffin in an ill-planned sacrifice that saw his remaining support wither away without contest. Griffin was then expelled.

PROSPECTS FOR 2015: The BNP is in a deep hole and unlikely to get out of it anytime soon. Its branch and regional structures collapsed long before the party parted ways with Griffin and, while the new leadership boasts of a potential £10m future income from wills, it still has to plough through the pile of debt that Griffin left behind.

The current leadership is not secure, the loyalty of its membership is questionable and the membership is largely unengaged. While the leadership is desperate that the party re-establishes its publications in 2015 to reach the membership and try to broaden its appeal it, is also holding internal discussions about opening a dialogue with the British Democratic Party to broaden its intellectual capacity. Personal and political differences might stifle this move, however.

Should the current leadership be successful enough in contacting those whose wills remain "uncashed", we should not be surprised to see the leadership of the party suggest it sheds its skin for a debt-free new name, taking with them a large number of bequests... if, that is, the leadership can avoid turning on each other first.



2014 BNP Conference in Blackpool

British Unity

Ideology: Strasserite.

Membership: Non-membership organisation with around two thousand followers on Facebook.

Leadership: Nick Griffin (pictured).

Activities: Only active online.



SUMMARY OF 2014: British Unity is Griffin's vanity project. Having pulled out of British Voice, Griffin launched British Unity as a "nationalist hub" which he hoped would stimulate debate inside the far right. Of course, the sub-text was to remind the movement how great he is.

A notorious technophobe, Griffin's attempts to fight a factional war with the BNP have faltered and, so far, his attempts at "stimulating" and "educating" the far right has consisted of dismal attempts to mimic Britain First on social media and through poorly composed emails and websites dedicated to attacking what remains of his former party.

PROSPECTS FOR 2015: Foolish, vain and greedy though he is, Griffin is a survivor. He will shed as many coats as necessary to survive and has as good an understanding of far right ideology as almost anyone around at the moment. His major problem, however, is reconciling his own ambitions with those of others. British Unity is simply a vehicle for his political resurrection rather than necessarily his organisation of choice. His popularity, however, is limited and he has made too many enemies over the years.



British Voice

Ideology: Fascist / Racial nationalist.

Membership: 50-100.

Leadership: Mike Whitby, Martin Vaughn, Chris Thornton.

Online: British Voice is yet to get a website and has locked down its Facebook group as paranoia about infiltration seems rife.

Activities: London, St Helens.

SUMMARY OF 2014: British Voice (BV) was set up in November 2014 by supporters of Nick Griffin after he was expelled from the BNP. However, many of its supporters were quickly horrified to discover that Griffin was having very little to do with the group and did not even attend its official launch.

BV was initially billed as being a radical and cutting-edge street group, heavily influenced by far right groups on the continent, but the reality is quite different. The party is underfunded and its membership is aged and already deflated by Griffin's refusal to get involved.

PROSPECTS FOR 2015: Hard to see BV being anything other than another tiny and irrelevant racist group. Some of its key figures are notoriously lazy, parochial and argumentative. If the remains of the Young BNP get behind the group, at least it will be active as well as notoriously antisemitic. However, BV looks like a dumping ground for those neither wanted by Griffin nor missed by the BNP.

Long-time EDL organiser Anthony Bamford has thrown his weight behind the group but that is unlikely to lead to anything other than division and complication. Without a leader, one that is known within the movement at least, there is every possibility that this group will just wither away and die. Bitterly.



Nick Griffin attends a 'British Voice' planning meeting (below) Mike Whiby and Chris Thornton





Britain First

Ideology: Counter-Jihadist / Racist.

Membership: 800.

Leadership: Paul Golding, Jayda Fransen.

Online: Britain First (BF) has a phenomenal online presence with over 500,000 followers on Facebook, a level of support not matched by offline membership or activity. BF has managed to exploit popular causes to harvest support for its Facebook page and to tap into growing Islamophobia and anti-Muslim hatred.

The group has been tremendously successful by breaking every rule with regard to online etiquette. Its brazen, inaccurate, sensationalist and emotive language has paid big dividends in online support.

BF's Twitter following is slightly more modest and paints a more accurate picture of its size (if not its influence) with just 6,000 followers.

Much of its support is actively idle and drawn from spillovers from Jim Dowson's mailing lists. Its online membership is a collection of accidental visitors, EDL-style Islamophobes, paid-for supporters and a growing section of the American Christian right. Its main focuses are begging for money, emotive patriotism, evangelical Christianity and outrage at issues like Islamist extremism and cruelty to animals.

Activities: Belfast, Birmingham, Bradford, Carlisle, Coventry, Crayford, Cumbernauld, Dartford, Doncaster, Dudley, Edinburgh, Gillingham, Glasgow, Hastings, Hull, London, Margate, Newcastle, Ramsgate, Rotherham, Sheffield, Southend, Wigan.



SUMMARY OF 2014: It might sound bizarre, but 2014 has been a year of wasted opportunity for BF. With the EDL and BNP in freefall, and with its impressive Facebook profile, the situation was perfect for BF to grow massively and become the dominant force on the British far right. That it has failed to impress owes much to ill discipline, the resignation of founder Jim Dowson and the personal failings and political stupidity of Paul Golding.

Dowson's legal troubles in Northern Ireland, where he is awaiting trial for leading the "flag protest", meant he was often only a distant spectator in Belfast. When Dowson quit BF following HOPE not hate's investigation, the group stuttered, stumbled and plateaued, not least because Golding proved unable to run such a lucrative merchandising operation.

By November 2014, BF's continued gaffes and wild behaviour had become a daily treat for a host of online bloggers and reporters. Frustratingly, much of the media's analysis of the group was well wide of the mark.

PROSPECTS FOR 2015: Plagued with unpaid bills and unfulfilled orders, it seems Golding will struggle to build on the platform set in 2014. With HMRC probing its merchandising operation, there is every chance that Golding might decide to pack it in.

National Front (Official)

Ideology: Fascist / Racial nationalist.

Membership: 40.

Leadership: Ian Edward (Chairman) Steve Rowland.

Online: The party has an active Twitter account but, like the other NF faction, suffers from a lack of professionalism and attention as well as from confusion over who controls what website and what Facebook site. The NF's Facebook page has fewer than 200 members and its Twitter account also has fewer than 500 followers. The party's website managed 300,000 views over the course of 2014, not a particularly high number.

Activities: Activity is sporadic and irregular, mostly supporting poorly performing candidates. The "Official" NF stood 6 candidates in the 2014 local elections and one in a council by-election in Birmingham in February. The party was active in Basildon, Birmingham, Southend and Thurrock.

SUMMARY OF 2014: The decision by the Electoral Commission to deregister the NF as a political party marked complete disaster for its leader Ian Edward who fought desperately to retain it and prevent the rival northern faction taking the name.

The NF's year was consumed by the faction fight with NF North. Outmuscled and out-bullied, the NF was aided by a group aligned to the Blood&Honour music scene that helped spearhead a fight back. However, it ended the year on the back foot again after Eddie Stampton and his clique withdrew support.

PROSPECTS FOR 2015: It would make sense for Edward and his dwindling following to seek some kind of merger. Why he hangs on to the name National Front, other than to antagonise those he has fallen out with, remains a mystery. Edward is believed to be keen to retire from politics but keep the name of the party out of the hands of his enemies.

The party will be able to re-register with the Electoral Commission in time for it to stand candidates in the 2015 elections once it appoints a new treasurer.



National Front (North)

Ideology: National socialist.

Membership: 150.

Leadership: Kev Bryan (Chair), Kevin McMahon, Richard Edmonds, Chris Jackson, Eddy Morrison.

Online: This version of The National Front (NF) has very little online presence in its own name. However, as individuals, this faction is tremendously active online with its own personal Facebook pages and the social media pages of other groups.

Activities: This particular NF group has been particularly active either using its own name or appearing in conjunction with other groups in Aberdeen, Accrington, Basildon, Burnley, Bradford, Birmingham, Blackburn, Bolton, Croydon, Dover, Dundee, Heywood & Middleton, Hartlepool, Hull, Leeds, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Newcastle, Neath, Newport, Oldham, Oxford, Port Talbot, Rochdale, Rotherham, Selby, Scarborough, Southport, Stockport, Sunderland and Swansea.



SUMMARY OF 2014: The NF's membership appears to be fluid and interchangeable, drawn mainly from the fringes of the Blood&Honour scene, former BNP members, ex-"Official" NF members and autonomous individuals. Losing a legal challenge to the "Official" wing of the party meant it did little in the election other than ambush BNP Chairman Nick Griffin while campaigning in Bolton.

The NF is volatile. It fights running battles with a plethora of groups it falls in and out with, most notably a small section of the British Movement and also the teen-nazi gang, National Action.

Although its apparatus looks crude and sporadic – party publications are diabolically misspelt and irregular – this faction appears to have bonded well over the last year with their love of excess: factioneering, smear campaigns, drunken socials, bullying individuals and threatening violence against their opponents on the left and far right.

During the stormy period in the aftermath of the Rotherham grooming scandal, when the entire far right seemed to be "camping out" in the town, the NF attacked an EDL march and was twice barred from entering the town when other far right groups were holding demonstrations.

This faction managed to outmanoeuvre the "Official" faction of the National Front by holding the larger of the two marches under the party name to the cenotaph on Remembrance Sunday.

PROSPECTS FOR 2015: With the electoral prospects for the far right at an all-time low, the NF's busy schedule is likely to attract those wanting a more confrontational approach. However, it faces increasing competition in recruiting new supporters because of the growing number of far right groups occupying this same space.

English Democrats

Ideology: English nationalist.

Membership: Approx 2,500 (2013 accounts).

Leadership: Robin Tilbrook (chair) (pictured).

Online: Website, Facebook, Twitter, personal websites.

Activities: Kent, Essex, Bolton, Bury, Salford, Doncaster, Barnsley, Liverpool.

SUMMARY OF 2014: It stood full slates in England in the European elections, scoring just around 1% of the vote in all. The English Democrats also had 32 council/mayoral candidates in May and stood a candidate in South Yorks PCC by-election.



PROSPECTS FOR 2015: The English Democrats have been overshadowed by UKIP in the past couple of years. The influx of members following the BNP's collapse caused large numbers of more moderate members to quit.

The party is a shadow of its former self and has poor prospects, a situation not helped by the fact that its number two and South East chairman, Steve Uncles, awaits trial for electoral fraud.

British Democratic Party

Ideology: Fascist / National socialist / Strasserite.

Membership: 50-70.

Leadership: No leader at present. Andrew Brons (pictured) is President and a body of ten oversees the running of the party. Notable names include Adrian Davies and John Bean.

Online: The BDP uses one or two blogs as well as its own website which is heavy in long ideological articles unlikely to be read by most on the far right. The party has fewer than 500 Facebook followers and makes no indent or impression at all on the British far right, let alone on the political life in society at large.

Activities: Some activity in West Yorkshire and Leicester and the group is administered from the North East. Managed only seven candidates in the 2014 local elections, none of whom did well. The party has held a few low level leafleting sessions and street stalls in West Yorkshire.



SUMMARY OF 2014: Kevin Scott stood down as leader during the summer, having suffered frustration over the group's internal arguments and a snobbery on the part of others to his regional accent. Only about 20 people attended the December Annual General Meeting (AGM) where it was apparent the aged and conservative leadership were more interested in luncheon dates than political debates.

PROSPECTS FOR 2015: Having found a niche market for itself as a talking shop for retired and retiring activists, the BDP may find its membership increasing slightly in 2015 as the fallout from the BNP gathers pace.

MAPPING THE STATE OF HATE

KEY TO FAR RIGHT GROUPS

- An Independence For Europe
- Blood & Honour
- Britain First
- Britannica
- British Democratic Party
- British Movement
- British National Party
- British Voice
- Combat 18
- English Defence League
- English Democrats
- Infidels
- Liberty GB
- National Action (NA)
- National Front (North)
- National Front (Official)
- National Liberal Party
- Racial Volunteer Force
- South East Alliance
- The London Forum
- The New Right
- The Patriotic Socialist Party
- Traditional Britain Group

KEY GROUP ACTIVITIES

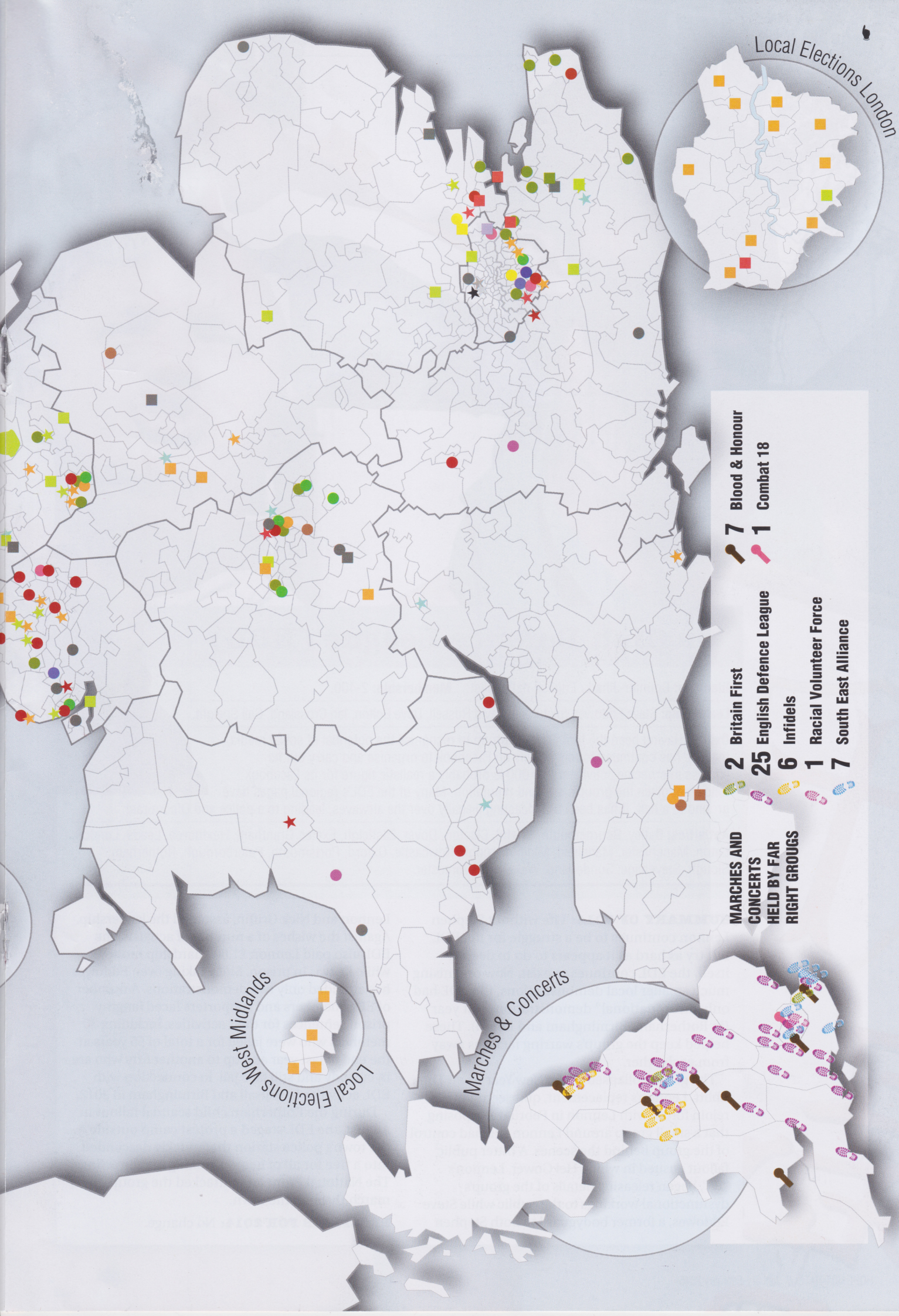
- ★ Active branches
- Low level activity
- Standing in local elections
- PCC elections



European Elections

Local Elections Greater Manchester







English Defence League (EDL)

Ideology: Counter-Jihad / English nationalist. **Membership:** 2-400.

Leadership: Steve Eddowes (pictured), David Russell, Dave Bolton, Ian Crossland, Gail Speight.

Online: Having been the first far right group to recognise the potential of social media, the EDL has continued to rely heavily on Facebook to organise and carry out its endless internecine activities. 180,000 is probably a realistic figure for its Facebook following, given the group's size and reputation. Many of the EDL's regional pages have ground to a halt. It has been broadcasting illegally over the airwaves, leading to a police and Ofcom raid.

Activities: Batley, Bournemouth, Bristol, Clacton, Dover, Eastleigh, Exeter, Grantham, Hexthorpe, Leeds, London, Luton, Manchester, Mansfield, Middlesbrough, Newcastle, Oxford, Portsmouth, Peterborough, Rotherham, Slough, Stevenage, Sunderland, Wakefield, Worcester.



SUMMARY OF 2014: Life without Stephen Lennon continues to be a struggle for the EDL but try as hard as it appears to do to destroy itself, the EDL continues to exist. Now organising much smaller local demonstrations, the EDL had only three "national" demonstrations last year (in Rotherham, Birmingham and Luton). These helped keep the group's warring factions away from each other.

The group collapsed in the New Year when Tim Ablitt, Lennon's replacement, quit seemingly to rejoin forces with Lennon in February, exposing that a small group around Lennon still had control of the group behind the scenes. A bitter public fallout ensued in which Hel Gower, Lennon's "PA", began releasing details of the group's dysfunctional workings to the public while Steve Eddowes, a former bodyguard to both Stephen

Lennon and Nick Griffin, assumed the leadership. Against the wishes of a number of activists, the EDL also paid Lennon £1,800 hardship money while he was in prison. Since taking over, Eddowes has attended only two demonstrations. A number of EDL members and supporters faced lengthy prison sentences for their activities, including 30 members who were jailed for a total of 55 years at the end of last year and up to another fifty who are in custody and still face jail in connection with EDL activities in Walsall and Birmingham in 2012.

During the Rotherham child scandal fallout in August, the EDL staged a protest camp outside the town's police station that quickly descended into a free for all of heavy drinking and brawling. The National Front later attacked the group on its march through the town.

PROSPECTS FOR 2014: No change.



Liberty GB

Ideology: Libertarian / far right / anti-Islamic.

Membership: 290 (2013 Accounts).

Leadership: Paul Weston.

Online: Website, Facebook, Twitter, Youtube.

Activities: London.



SUMMARY OF 2014: Liberty GB stood three candidates in the 2014 EU elections in the South East region. It managed a meagre 0.11% of the vote.

In April, party leader Paul Weston was arrested outside Winchester Guildhall on suspicion of religious or racial harassment. Liberty GB is attempting to mend its fences with the EDL, with which it fell out following the disintegration of the now defunct British Freedom Party. Weston was one of the key speakers at the Luton EDL demo held in November.

PROSPECTS FOR 2015: Prospects will probably depend on any relationship forged between Weston and what is left of the EDL.

South East Alliance

Ideology: Counter-Jihadist / Fascist.

Membership: 10.

Leadership: Paul Prodromou.

Online: Little or no presence.

Activities: Brighton, Broadstairs, London, Margate, Rotherham, Ramsgate, Thurrock.



SUMMARY OF 2014: A veritable rent-a-gob, Prodromou has fallen down the list of important fascists but remains a violent thug for hire. He has fallen in with just about any cause that would allow him to shout down a megaphone and promise violent retribution but, after a number of failed demonstrations of his own during the year, his following has rapidly shrunk. What is left of the SEA now hangs out with what is left of the BNP (British Voice) in Essex, the National Front and sections of the Loyalist scene.

PROSPECTS FOR 2015: No change.

The Infidels

Ideology: Nazi / Loyalist. **Membership:** 30-50.

Leadership: John "Snowy" Shaw, Shane Calvert, Peter Hawley, Warren Faulkner.

Online: Drugs, prison and internal fallouts have diminished their online presence, though as individuals they remain active.

Activities: Blackburn, Bolton, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle, Sunderland.

SUMMARY OF 2014: Leader John "Snowy" Shaw got a job driving the cast of a well-known Soap Opera around Manchester and so reined in most of his activities. The rest of the North West gang spent most of last year in prison (released in early December 2014) while the North East gang found themselves under pressure due to their non-political activities, mainly drug and crime-related.

PROSPECTS FOR 2015: It will not be a surprise to see more arrests and convictions for drugs and drug-related violence by either gang. Those who have stayed out of prison seem to have gravitated towards both National Action and the National Front in the North West.



John "Snowy" Shaw

Blood&Honour

Ideology: National socialist.

Supporter base: 400.

Leadership: Simon Dutton, Benny Bullman, Dave Braddon, Ginger Rob.

Online: Website.

Activities: London, South Wales, Kent, East Midlands, West Midlands, Greater Manchester, North East, Scotland.

SUMMARY OF 2014: After their 1,000-strong gig in 2013, the showpiece Ian Stuart Memorial gig only attracted 450 in 2014, the majority of whom were from overseas. B&H has struggled over the past year, not least because of its inability to attract a younger audience and because many of its traditional supporters are drifting over to the supposedly "non-political" Oi scene.

Gigs continue to be held every couple of months but attendances are declining and B&H is becoming ever more reliant on Polish and Italian skinheads living in London to boost numbers.

It produces the *Blood&Honour* magazine but less frequently than in the past.

PROSPECTS FOR 2015: Decline

Racial Volunteer Force

Ideology: National socialist.

Membership: 25.

Leadership: Mark Atkinson.

Online: Website.

Activities: South West, South Wales, Berkshire, East Yorkshire.

SUMMARY OF 2014: Since its fallout with Blood&Honour, the Racial Volunteer Force has become increasingly isolated and marginalised. Its only public activity in 2014 was a contingent on the National Front's Remembrance Sunday march, though even this was considerably smaller than 2013.

One of its few activists died in February and about 50 RVF and far right activists attended the funeral.

It produces *The Volunteer*, but only one edition has appeared this year.

PROSPECTS FOR 2015: Likely to dwindle even further



British Movement

Ideology: National socialist.

Membership: Approx 100.

Leadership: Steve Frost.

Online: Website, Facebook.

Activities: South Wales, Hull, West Yorkshire, East Midlands, Scotland, Northern Ireland.

SUMMARY OF 2014: Not the most active of groups, it tends to be restricted to a few street activities and leader Steve Frost speaking at events like the annual John Tyndall memorial meeting.

It also produces a semi-regular magazine called *Broadsword* and in the summer held a tiny event called "The Sunwheel Festival".

PROSPECTS FOR 2015: The coming year probably will not see massive change for this veteran nazi organisation with its fortunes probably relying on activists in sister organisations making the overlap.



Britannica

Ideology: Racial nationalist.

Membership: 25 approx.

Leadership: Charlie Baillie.

Online: Facebook.

Activities: Scotland, predominantly Glasgow.



SUMMARY OF 2014: The only significant activity saw the BNP splinter, Britannica, register with the Electoral Commission as a permitted participant in the Scottish Independence referendum campaign for the "No" vote.

PROSPECTS FOR 2015: Its fortunes are unlikely to change in 2015 and it will probably plod on with the tiny number of members it appears to have.

National Action

Ideology: National socialist. **Membership:** 40-50.

Leadership: Alex Davies, Ashley Bell, Mark James, Benjamin Raymond.

Online: Very active and pernicious. The group has little online following but its website is professional and surprisingly readable.

Activities: London, Leeds, Coventry, Dudley, Rotherham, Warwick, Birmingham, Liverpool, Newcastle.

SUMMARY OF 2014: Like Britain First, National Action (NA) was a godsend to armchair bloggers and columnists who believed and described the NA to be some kind of autonomous explosion of street nazism. It is not. The British National Party (BNP) spawned the NA and its virulent antisemitism has made it a *cause célèbre* for the anglophile American nazi movement. That said, this is probably the most ideological nazi group to emerge in Britain for decades.

In October, Garron Helm, a 21-year-old activist from Merseyside described as a “loner”, was sent to prison for antisemitic tweets he sent to Liverpool MP Luciana Berger. Prior to that, the group had mainly made headlines for small stunts in and around universities and town centres.

After Helm’s conviction, twelve members were arrested during a police swoop on a planned demonstration by the group in Liverpool. This appears to have “upped the ante”, the attention bringing a new lot of admirers and wannabes from the rest of the far right.

PROSPECTS FOR 2015: Growth



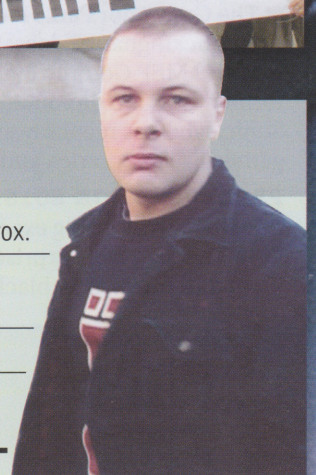
Combat 18

Ideology: National socialist. **Membership:** 40 approx.

Leadership: Will Browning, Nick Field, John Henderson, Darren Wilkinson.

Online: None.

Activities: East London, South London, Birmingham, Oldham.



SUMMARY OF 2014: Combat 18 has no public profile whatsoever but a network of supporters still exists across the UK, virtually all of whom were active when C18 was a real force in the 1990s. It holds one gig a year but C18 activists and bands are increasingly prominent in the growing “non-political” Oi scene.

C18 links to some of the more violent members of the North West Infidels.

PROSPECTS FOR 2015: Little change expected with possibly the only growth area being in the North West.

New Right

Ideology: Extreme right-wing think tank.

Membership: Approx 50.

Leadership: Troy Southgate, Adrian Davies.

Online: Youtube.

Activities: London & South East.

SUMMARY OF 2014: Still hosting their semi-regular meetings in London pubs. The New Right is little more than a talking shop for racists and bigots.

PROSPECTS FOR 2015: Probably not that different from 2014, meeting on a couple of dreary Saturday afternoons in one of London's less salubrious pubs.

Traditional Britain Group

Ideology: Traditionalist radical conservatism.

Membership: Approx 100.

Leadership: Gregory Lauder-Frost.

Online: Website, Facebook, Twitter, Youtube, Blog.

Activities: London, South East, Leeds.

SUMMARY OF 2014: Receiving much less attention in the media compared with 2013, the TBG has continued to host semi-regular dinners and social events.

In October, the TBG held its annual conference at The Grosvenor Park Hotel, a stone's throw away from Buckingham Palace. Speakers included the ex-UKIP MEP Godfrey Bloom and the fascist former Croatian diplomat, Dr Tomislav Sunic, who has regularly addressed racist gatherings in America and Europe.

PROSPECTS FOR 2015: Chances are the TBG will be doing exactly the same in 2015. The only real surprises may be the guests invited to speak at its black tie dinners.

Iona London Forum

Ideology: Extreme right-wing think tank.

Membership: Approx 50.

Leadership: Jeremy Bedford-Turner.

Online: Youtube.

Activities: London and South East.

SUMMARY OF 2014: Now probably the larger and busier of the two far right "think tanks". In 2014, The Iona London Forum held several meetings with a large number of speakers including the controversial US anti-war activist and ex-US marine antisemite Ken O'Keefe.

PROSPECTS FOR 2015: It will continue to outshine the New Right as it has a broader, less stuffy, appeal compared with its rather dull cousin.



(left to right) Gregory Lauder-Frost, Jeremy Bedford-Turner, Troy Southgate and Adrian Davies

(below) Traditional Britain Group's Annual Conference 2014 at The Grosvenor Park Hotel



Patriotic Socialist Party



Ideology: Patriotic socialist / Strasserite.

Membership: Approx 100.

Leadership: Andrew Stott.

Online: Website, Facebook.

Activities: (Branches) Ceredigion, Wirral, Enfield, Kirklees, Great Yarmouth, Feltham, St. Helens, Warrington, Glasgow, Arundel, Birmingham, Redditch.

SUMMARY OF 2014: Formed in January from the remnants of the United People's Party.

The PSP stood several candidates in council elections/ by-elections in 2014 receiving no more than 5% of the vote. One by-election in Colchester saw it receive just two votes. It also stood candidates in the Newark & Rochester parliamentary by elections receiving just 0.05% & 0.1% of the vote respectively.

PROSPECTS FOR 2015: Prospects for the PSP in 2015 are hard to predict as the PSP is such a new party. However, it has had a less than auspicious start. It will continue to field the occasional candidate in elections but people are suspicious of its "Patriotic Socialist" stance.

An Independence From Europe

Ideology: Anti-European Union / Anti-Immigration.

Membership: Unknown.

Leadership: Mike Nattrass.

Online: Website, Youtube.

Activities: West Midlands, Lincolnshire, Exeter.

SUMMARY OF 2014: Originally set up as a spoiler party by ex-UKIP MEP Mike Nattrass and a number of other UKIP rejects and misfits, AIFE stood 60 European Union candidates in the 2014 European elections along with 3 candidates in Exeter for the local council elections.

Whilst the vote was low, around 2% in the EU elections, AIFE had two minor successes by depriving UKIP of an extra MEP being elected and by beating the English Democrats.

The party has three councillors on Lincolnshire County Council who were originally elected as UKIP candidates but subsequently defected.

PROSPECTS FOR 2015: With UKIP dominating the anti-EU political scene it is hard to see AIFE making any notable progress, although it is a possible outlet for any ex-members of UKIP wishing to seek out a form of payback.

National Liberal Party

Ideology: Third Position.

Membership: 170 (2013 Accounts).

Leadership: Run by a 6-person national council including veteran fascist Graham Williamson.

Online: Website, Facebook.

Activities: London, Havering, Belfast.

SUMMARY OF 2014: The NLP stood 8 candidates in the European elections in the London region. It managed to obtain just 0.31% of the vote across the capital.

Not content with defeat in the EU elections, the NLP stood 3 candidates in Havering, all failing miserably with less than 0.4% of the vote.

PROSPECTS FOR 2015: Aside from local campaigning in Havering, the NLP appears to be concentrating its efforts in campaigning for independence for a whole host of separatist movements. Whether this is a genuine interest, or an insincere attempt to increase its voter base, only time will tell.

(right) Andrew Stott
(bottom left) Mike Nattrass
(bottom right) Graham Williamson



For more on Britain's far right see
www.hopenothate.org.uk

The lost leaders

NICK GRIFFIN

2014 WAS the year it all fell apart for Nick Griffin. In May, he lost his seat in the European Parliament; in July he was deposed as leadership of the British National Party (BNP); by October he was booted out of the party altogether and, by November, he had walked away from the splinter group he had helped set up to replace it.

It was an amazing fall from grace for the man who had reshaped the British far right and at one point, in the summer of 2009, genuinely thought he had brought it into the political mainstream.

But it was also a fall that had been a long time in the coming, begun, of course, by the party's heavy defeat in Barking & Dagenham and the consequence of several legal issues, many of which were of Griffin's own making.

What was striking was the number of close associates who turned on him so ruthlessly. Those he chose to bless with his generosity and his debt during his time as leader of the BNP and as an MEP turned against him before he had even lost his seat. Maybe it was his arrogance, maybe it was just another in a long line of his poor decisions, but he either did not see it coming or he simply chose to ignore it. In the end, he was dumped unceremoniously and bitterly.

Attempts by Griffin and a loyal old guard of party apparatchiks to have their leader reinstated also failed dismally in a comedy of errors and incompetence. His followers formed a party in his honour called British Voice but it was jettisoned by Griffin, a week before its proposed launch, after he disembarked from an aeroplane in Madrid for one of his long and notorious junkets with European fascists.

Never known for his humility, Griffin has become a bitter man with the delusion that somehow having been a one-term ex-MEP for a tiny British political party makes him a world statesman. He now takes his wares anywhere there appears to be a free meal and a drink.

He may finally write his book and possibly even face the courts a few more times, but it is not age that wearied him; it was his own greed and his party's incompetence.

Griffin has for now decided to be an advising and "unifying" force for the entire British far right. Unfortunately for him, nobody wants to hear what he has to say.

The chances are that he'll be gone from Britain soon enough.

JIM DOWSON

AT THE BEGINNING of the year it appeared that Jim Dowson had finally got himself to a place he felt he belonged. After years of playing politics in Northern Ireland and propping up the BNP from behind the scenes, he had – in Britain First – set up a party that looked as though it was going to replace the BNP and the rapidly splintering English Defence League.

By the end of the year, however, he was back out in the wilderness, facing a court case over the "flag protests" in Northern Ireland and an investigation into his business matters.

Dowson will argue that he has not changed but merely decided to withdraw his services from those around him. In July, with Britain First hitting 500,000 'likes' on Facebook, Dowson publicly quit the party.

His offices, his telephones and his little army of Belfast-based helpers were no longer to be available to Britain First because the controversial fundraiser realised he could never build a disciplined, God-fearing army of Christian patriots from the ashes and the cast offs of fascist gangs.

He later admitted in an exclusive interview with *HOPE*



The decline of the British far right is best exemplified through the fortunes of its three most prominent leaders. *Nick Lowles* and *Matthew Collins* look at how Nick Griffin, Jim Dowson and Stephen Lennon fared in 2014.

not hate that our report into Britain First had hurt the organisation.

In walking away from the organisation, he also withdrew his administrative, fundraising and business management, which is undoubtedly the best the British far right have ever had. He was the king of the race to the bottom.

Others recognised Dowson's skills and he was immediately courted by leading figures in the British 'counter-jihad' movement, such as Paul Weston. Weston saw in Britain First something he thought he wanted but, by now, Dowson wanted out.

Dowson had built up Britain First, kept it in check, written its articles, administered its members and put them to bed at night. But, like any anxious parent, Dowson realised he could not always be there for them and in his absence, Britain First degenerated into something very little different to the thuggery and drunken stupidity of the English Defence League (EDL) and the blunt and unattractive racism of the British National Party (BNP) – two groups Dowson had grown to dislike and distrust immensely.

While Britain First still steals the odd headline, it is in decline now Dowson has gone. It is struggling to fulfil its orders, leading activists are dropping out and the group has lost direction.

Dowson appears more focused on repairing his reputation, which was badly damaged in Belfast by his dalliance with the BNP. He has started his own merchandising operation for 'patriots and nationalists' but this is now about making money for himself.

Whether we shall ever see Dowson marching across the streets of England again remains to be seen. What is certain is that without him the British far right is weaker and certainly poorer

STEPHEN LENNON

THE GREAT enigma of the British far right, Stephen Lennon, began 2014 behind bars and plotting a life away from the EDL. He finished the year angrier than probably at any time before and mulling over a return to activity once his licence ends in the summer of 2015.

Lennon, better known by his English Defence League name Tommy Robinson, has arguably been the most important figure on the British far right over the last five years. The EDL brought tens of thousands of people into far right politics and politicised a generation.

While he had been a member of the BNP, he isn't a racist like Nick Griffin but rather an Islamophobe whose opposition to what he believes is Islamist extremism leads to blaming all Muslims and inciting anti-Muslim hatred.

In walking away from the EDL, in October 2013, he pulled the plug on the organisation. Lennon genuinely wanted to leave it and, in building an initial relationship with Quilliam and especially its researcher Usama Hasan, he was excited at the prospect of educating young people about the perils of all extremism. While he was still bitterly opposed to Islamist extremism, he recognised that moderate Muslims had to be at the heart of the campaign against it and that some of the provocative actions of the EDL were counter-productive.

Then came ISIS, the Rotherham grooming scandal and his own financial problems, which resulted in him having to sell his house to repay his mortgage fraud debt. He became angry and more combative on social media. And slowly but surely he moved away from his mood of reconciliation to be back in the fray and loved by his core supporters.

He was sent back to prison for challenging an online critic to a fight and when he was released the old Tommy Robinson had replaced the new Stephen Lennon.

He is on licence until the summer of 2015 so we will only know then what he will do but the chances of a return to anti-Muslim political activity are very strong. This will be both worrying – because of his charisma and media ability – but also a shame – because for, a time in 2014, he did seem as though he genuinely wanted to change.





Joelle Chess looks at the state of antisemitism in the UK in 2014

2014 SAW SIGNIFICANT spikes in antisemitic incidents in the UK and across Europe. Whilst the main rise occurred during, and in the immediate aftermath of, yet more violent conflict in the Middle East, the sheer number of incidents and range of perpetrators, as well as the reaction from the Jewish community in the UK, suggests that the oldest hatred is still very much with us.

In fact, July 2014 saw the highest-ever number of antisemitic incidents reported in a single month to the Community Security Trust (CST) since its establishment in 1984. 302 incidents were reported in 31 days. Given the Jewish community

numbers fewer than 300,000 people in the UK, that is an extraordinary number.

As an anti-fascist campaign, HOPE not hate has a responsibility to expose and challenge all forms of hate and intolerance and the rise of overt (as well as covert) antisemitism. This obligation, therefore, demands that we stand united, together with the Jewish community, to combat this hate wherever it comes from on the political, cultural and religious spectrum.

One note of caution on the rise of antisemitism, which has been articulated within the Jewish community, is that although recent events are extremely concerning, they cannot be viewed in isolation and we need to recognise that is does not necessarily indicate that times are looking bleaker for the Jewish community in Britain. With the rise of social media and big changes occurring in the

UK's political landscape, the nature of antisemitism has changed.

So – defining antisemitism

There are many different definitions of antisemitism, however the most cogent is from the European Forum on Antisemitism: “a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews”.

Recent antisemitic attacks are riddled with traditional themes and myths: scapegoating Jews as responsible for wrongs in the world, discussions of a powerful lobby or conspiracy to further Jewish aims, the centuries-old claims linked to the idea that Jewish people killed Jesus as well as the blood libel and post-war claims that the Holocaust is exaggerated or never happened.

Since the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 and throughout the many conflicts involving it,

antisemitism has diversified. Israel is often used to mask wider messages reflecting the more traditional themes. Holding Jews collectively responsible for the actions of the state of Israel is as racist as ascribing a single opinion to any ethnic group.

It should be unnecessary to state, but unfortunately it is not, that according to research from the CST most British Jews do not actually believe criticism of Israel is antisemitic. However, most British Jews do believe that a person who boycotts Israeli goods, or who compares Israel to Nazi Germany is probably antisemitic. As the victim defines racism, we cannot and should not ignore these concerns.

2014

According to the CST report for January-June 2014, there were 304 antisemitic incidents reported. This was a significant increase of 36%



on 2013 but was considered by CST a return to “normal” levels of antisemitism (as it was on par with 2012).

However, in July of this year, the level of antisemitism rose sharply. The CST, an organisation which seeks to protect Jewish communities from antisemitism, reported 302 antisemitic incidents for July alone, almost equalling the number reported in the preceding six months. Incidents included graffiti, verbal abuse, criminal damage to property and acts of violence towards Jewish people.

Two stark examples include teenagers, who were subsequently charged, attacking a rabbi near a Jewish boarding school. And on 12 July, following a pro-Palestine rally, a group of men drove through an area of Greater Manchester that has many Jewish residents shouting “Heil Hitler”. They threw eggs and drinks cans at pedestrians.

The spike continued into August (although complete figures are yet to be published). While the violent incidents are the most shocking, it is the more banal incidents which should be as concerning. One such incident was the posting of a sign on the window of a Jewish charity shop in Southgate reading “death to Jews”. Unfortunately this was not unique, at Kingston synagogue in west London, a sign reading “child murderers” was stuck up outside the building.

What's changed?

So is this normal or did 2014 represent a significant shift? It would be easy to compare this spike in incidents with events in 2009 (the previous record for antisemitic incidents reported to the CST). And while it is clear that there is, unfortunately, a base level of antisemitism in British society, 2014 was different.

The biggest difference in 2014 was in fact the type of incidents reported. There were, thankfully, fewer violent incidents than in 2009. Social media assaults were largely responsible for the summer's increase, including the emergence of a #Hitlerwasright hashtag on twitter.

However a worrying change in 2014 was the left's general indifference and lack of condemnation. Some left-wing commentators conflate anti-Zionism and antisemitism. The lack of public support for the Jewish community, during a period of significant stress, suggests people consider it responsible for events in Israel. This is a ludicrous notion.

However, it should be noted that the CST is optimistic about the overall level of antisemitism in the UK. Events are significantly less violent than those occurring in other parts of Europe. France is expected to lose 1% of its Jewish population to Israel in reaction to growing hostility and, in Holland, the home of the chief rabbi was

attacked five times in two months. Britain is widely regarded as the best place in Europe to be Jewish.

The impact of social media

The expanding use of social media and the spread of hate online has fundamentally changed the way in which antisemitism is spread and therefore provides us with different challenges.

Social media, targeting the youngest Jewish MP in the UK, broadly drove one of the worst examples of a concerted antisemitic campaign in 2014. The abuse faced by Luciana Berger, MP for Liverpool Wavertree, was unprecedented both in terms of its volume and scope. Garron Helm, a member of the nazi National Action group, tweeted Luciana with a crude caricature of herself along with a reference to her religion. In consequence, he was convicted, his imprisonment prompting a huge campaign of hatred that included over 20 death threats and more than 2,000 abusive tweets on social media towards Luciana.

The traditional far right

While overt antisemitism remains unusual in mainstream British society, it continues to be a far right obsession. As parties like the British National Party (BNP) have fallen further into political irrelevance, their activists have been able to be more open about their views. The BNP no longer has to worry about wooing votes from a more moderate audience and, accordingly, Nick Griffin reintroduced antisemitism into the BNP's propaganda during his last couple of years as leader.

Since 2011, the BNP's blogs and other social media outlets have been filling up with not-even-veiled antisemitism. 9/11 conspiracy theory and Holocaust denial have increasingly been restored to the regular diet of hatred as have been historical texts like *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. When HOPE not hate interviewed ex-Britain First

leader and former BNP fundraiser, Jim Dowson he stated “I have never known hatred like that the BNP has for Jews”.

A YouTube video, posted by BNP Youth in May 2014, refers to “heartless Zionists whose interests are foreign... who send our soldiers to fight and die for private profit of greedy politicians”. Griffin schooled these young people in Jewish conspiracy theory as a matter of urgency from about 2012 onwards. On the far right, antisemitism once again sits hand in hand with Islamophobia.

The challenges ahead

It is clear from the information we have that antisemitism is not rising as rapidly as is often claimed. However, as the far right becomes more openly antisemitic it is important for Jewish communities to be increasingly vigilant. Individuals who now have nothing to lose can commit dangerous acts.

It is also important that abuse on social media is punished in the same way as it would be if it occurred on our streets. Racially abusing anyone is illegal and it is right that the perpetrators are jailed. We also need to find a way to counter this negative use of social media with positivity. It cannot be allowed to become a space dominated by hate.

It is also vitally important that the traditional campaigners against antisemitism, most notably those on the left, remember their roots and not only publicly condemn antisemitic hate from the far right but also look closer to home at their own stances.

Finally, it is important to recognise that there is a diverse range of opinions within all ethnic groups. If wars should break out in the future, anger at them should not be taken out on our Jewish community. Britain is a safe and accepting society and should stay that way. ●

The end of the world

Graeme Atkinson expresses doubts

Following a trend that that became accentuated in the period immediately following the 2014 European Parliamentary elections, every partial and minimal success of the far right and right-wing populism is being hailed with a chorus of ill-informed alarmism.

Out of nowhere, appear apocalyptic articles with, *inter alia*, titles – borrowed from a misreading of WB Yeats' 1919 poem, *The Second Coming* – averring that “The centre is falling apart across Europe”.

Essentially the argument is that far right extremism is growing exponentially in Europe. But is it? Close analysis of the current situation of the far right in the European Union as a whole tends to lead away from undifferentiated conclusions.

The term far right extremism itself defies definition but broadly covers three nationalist-oriented political tendencies: outright fascism or nazism, ultra-rightism and right-wing populism. The divisions between these are marked by their fluidity.

Examined in turn, it soon becomes clear that the only countries in which outright fascist or ultra-rightist parties have been able to establish a foothold are Greece and Hungary. In Greece, Golden Dawn – now under heavy manners from the state with its entire leadership facing trial on charges of running a criminal organisation – polled 9.4% in the May 2014 Euro-elections but is now showing just 4.8% in a recent opinion poll. This marks a drop from

the 6.9% that propelled the nazis into parliament with 18 MPs in June 2012.

In Hungary, Jobbik – which does little to conceal its antisemitism – is managing to maintain its support but is not increasing it substantially. Recent opinion polls give it 15%, five points below its 2014 Hungarian parliamentary vote and slightly rising on its Euro-election support. While support for the ruling right-wing conservative Fidesz party has plunged to 26% and the party has lost 900,000 voters, the latter are not heading towards Jobbik.

Neither Greece nor Hungary provides evidence of further far right growth. Golden Dawn may well have “peaked” and Jobbik commands a sizeable lump of electoral support but seems to have stagnated.

So what of France and Austria? Leaving aside the wild forecasts of Marine Le Pen being the next president of France, there is little doubt that the Front National has consolidated and increased its support which now stands at 28% for March 2015 regional (*départemental*) elections. It now the “most popular party” in France, and lubricated with loans of £32 million from Russian banks, can probably look forward to contesting – and losing – the second round of the next presidential ballot in 2017.

As for Austria, the Freedom Party (FPÖ) is on its way to restoring its support to its former peak, edging its way up to 26% in recent opinion polls as a result of gridlock in the Social Democrat-Conservative coalition and



concerns about the trickle of asylum-seekers from Syria.

In Denmark, too, right wing anti-immigration populists have upped their percentages in opinion polls: the Danish People's Party (DF) hitting an all-time high with 21.2% in a poll taken in November that made them the country's biggest party. Again, DF is swimming on a tide of anti-refugee sentiment. For similar reasons, the Sweden Democrats – fresh from helping bring down

the Swedish government – have been able to bump up their poll showing to 16% from 12.9% in a survey in September. In May's Euro-elections, these parties grabbed 26.6% and 9.7% respectively.

In the Netherlands, right-wing populist Geert Wilders' Freedom Party is riding atop the polls with 20%, a consequence of the Islamic State and Islam, combined with ongoing governmental incompetence, being,

as we know it?



momentarily, at least, the big issues.

To these, can be added two countries with populist parties led by comedians: Nigel Farage's UKIP and Beppe Grillo's Five Star Movement in Italy.

In the nine countries above, an upward movement of voting intentions in some of them reflects increased support for the non-mainstream right but not a proven surge. It is also too early to predict outcomes

with the populist Alternative für Deutschland that has been busy exploiting the wave of anti-Muslim protests currently sweeping Germany.

National elections will be a much tougher test for all these parties than the Euro-elections which are almost designed to soak up protest votes but not affect the voter's pocket.

Europe-wide a number of factors are steering the overall situation that is prompting shifts away from two party

races and locked-in centre-right or centre left coalitions: austerity, economic *stasis*, the intransparency of the European Union (EU), unaccountable elites, democratic deficits, mounting Islamophobia and migration fears among others.

What we are witnessing is protest and widespread dissatisfaction that is finding a left expression as well as a right-wing one. It is interesting to note that the far right has progressed in just

one of the five EU "bail-out" countries: Greece.

As political analyst Cas Mudde has observed: "Despite all the hype in the international media, the European elections of May 2014 were not an "earthquake." Depending on the broadness of the definition of 'far right,' notably whether or not UKIP is included, they won between 6.8 and 10.3 percent of the vote, an increase of roughly 1-2 percent. If UKIP is excluded, the far right holds 51 seats, an increase of 17 compared to the 2009.

"However, FN alone won 21 new seats! Overall, far right parties gained representation in just ten of the twenty-eight EU member states. In six states they gained extra seats, in seven they lost seats. In three East European countries they lost representation altogether. In short, the far right is not growing significantly in Europe, but only in a few European countries."

There is no indication that the political system across Europe cannot accommodate these episodic political shifts that are giving extremists their ten minutes of fame.

The menacing aspect of the far right's presence on the political stage is that it does not help make life better for all but gnaws away relentlessly at social cohesion and encourages the conservative right to push its own agenda in a far more reactionary, anti-democratic direction. For that reason alone, it has to be challenged and defeated.

■ With acknowledgement to Dr Cas Mudde

Not all success for US hate movements

By the Centre for New Community in Chicago

ORGANISED BIGOTRY in the United States experienced some sweeping defeats in 2014, the relative progress made on some immigration issues and the expansion of same-sex marriage rights to name just two.

The hate mob also scored some victories too, however, including a broader denial of voting rights for racial minorities and younger voters and the obstruction of other immigration issues.

As the year drew to a close, public debate intensified around fear of the “lawless” others – immigrants, Muslims, African Americans and even President Barack Obama – who all represent a threat to traditional power.

The overviews presented here highlight the major groups, issues, and interactions – the relative highs and extreme, historic lows – that have shaped the past year for three organised movements in particular: the anti-immigrant strategists, the US-based counter-

jihad activists and white nationalists.

Hardliners exploit challenges

During the summer, increased awareness of children migrating through Mexico and across the US border after fleeing horrific violence in Central America allowed the anti-immigrant movement to draw attention to itself in the mainstream media and use this platform to promote its destructive agenda.

The effort to stoke fear and anxiety was driven primarily by three Washington DC-based groups that comprise the movement's core leadership: the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), NumbersUSA, and the Center for Immigration Studies (CIS).

The continual attempts of these outfits to coordinate a large network of grassroots leaders and activists to dehumanise the child migrants was a two-pronged strategy.

First, they wanted to kill the chances of a comprehensive immigration reform in Congress's lower chamber – the House of Representatives – that would have created a pathway to citizenship for as many as 11 million undocumented immigrants.

Second, they worked preemptively to erode political and public will around the expected announcement of “executive action” on immigration by Obama in anticipation of the House's failure to act.

A version of that comprehensive immigration reform bill had already been passed by the upper chamber of Congress – the Senate – in July 2013.

Since then, FAIR, NumbersUSA, CIS, and their allies in Congress have fought daily to the obstruct the House version of the bill, even though its passing would have triggered draconian immigration enforcement upgrades, including a drastic increase in both the number

of border patrol agents (by 80%) and the number of drones flying over the US' southern border.

Though attempts to reform the country's broken immigration system have died in Congress, pro-migrant advocates did have some big wins. Diligent, sustained campaigns eventually led to Obama's November announcement of “executive action,” a policy that could lead to approximately 4.5 million undocumented immigrants being allowed to apply for temporary relief from deportation. This is a move that could go down as one of this country's most important immigration developments in the last 30 years.

In a major victory at the local level, several police departments across the country have reversed course and are now refusing to cooperate with federal immigration authorities in detaining immigrants in local jails for low-level offences



like traffic violations and misdemeanours. This shift effectively protects some immigrants from potential deportation trials.

The anti-immigrant movement was, however, emboldened by November's "mid-term" elections which it proclaimed a widespread repudiation of Obama's immigration policies despite a very low turnout in this non-presidential election year.

Regardless, the right-wing is unsure how to respond constructively to Obama's "executive action". The organised anti-immigrant movement is predictably outraged, and some on the far right have called for measures as extreme as removing Obama from office.

Even though the US' border patrol agency is five times larger than it was twenty years ago, anti-immigrant leaders persistently indulge conspiracy theories that they hope will instil a public sense of "border and national

insecurity". An unholy chorus comprised of the organised anti-immigrant movement, the US wing of the international counter-jihad movement and Congressional allies sympathetic to both is effectively using presenting the border with Mexico as symbol of fear.

From this, a pattern of regular collaboration between counter-jihad and anti-immigrant leaders has emerged. And though Obama's "executive action" represents a significant reverse for the leaders of both movements, their willingness to cooperate is being strengthened.

Closer counter-jihadist-nativist links

The counter-jihad movement made some significant strides in 2014. The rise of the so-called Islamic State and the challenges that accompanied the arrival of tens of thousands of Central American child migrants and refugees provided a

natural coat hanger for far right nativist media rhetoric. Frank Gaffney, founder of the Center for Security Policy, is a case in point, having repeatedly featured on conservative news outlets to peddle warnings that members of the Islamic State are infiltrating the US through Mexico.

Another long-time counter-jihad exponent – and onetime leftist – David Horowitz, took time out to "thank" the Islamic State for visibly exemplifying what he calls the "barbarity" of Islam for the American public. Similar rhetoric exudes from right-leaning media outlets like Fox News which have used the Islamic State to call for the continuation of surveillance programs that target Muslim communities.

Distorting threats — real and imagined — encourages individuals like former FBI agent John Guandolo, who now offers "counterterrorism training courses" steeped in anti-Muslim hatred to

local sheriff's and police departments and everyday citizens alike.

ACT! for America, the grassroots arm of the US-based counter-jihad movement, continues to claim victories and expand its reach. ACT! boasts more than 800 local branches nationwide and more than 279,000 members whom it mobilises to influence all arenas of American policy, particularly at state and local levels. All of ACT!'s campaigns rely on fomenting trepidation and suspicion of Muslims as members lobby state-level lawmakers to pass model legislation dubbed, "American Laws for American Courts." (ALAC)

These laws, also known as anti-Shariah bills, would bar judges from the longstanding practice of applying foreign laws, Islamic or otherwise, in court decisions.

Previous versions of this type of legislation have been deemed unconstitutional, but that did not stop lawmakers

in twelve states from introducing ALAC bills in 2014. Only two states, Florida and Alabama, actually passed these bills this year, and they were largely gutted in the process.

Although ACT! considered these victories, having the bills passed quietly was never its intention. According David Yerushalmi, the legal mind behind these laws, the bills are essentially “heuristic,” designed to provoke cultural friction in order to “get people asking this question, ‘What is Shariah?’”

ACT! recently unveiled a new website with a makeover that attempts – but largely fails – to conceal the group’s prejudiced agenda. For the first time publicly, its leaders now claim that securing America’s borders against undocumented immigrants is a priority for the group, further aligning its aims with those of the organised anti-immigrant movement.

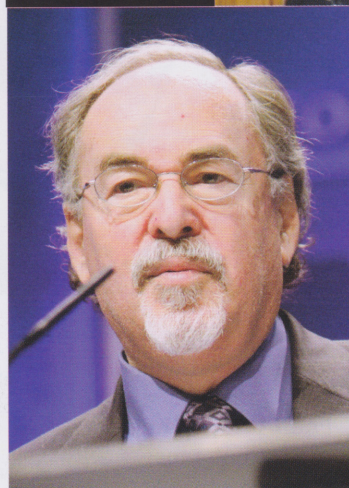
White Nationalists look to Europe

Jared Taylor succinctly summed up the organised white nationalist movement’s master plan in a speech he made earlier this year, stating, “We have more enemies than friends, and some of those enemies are going to have to become our friends if we’re going to have a future.”

Taylor, who runs American Renaissance, is perhaps the intellectual figurehead of this movement in America. He and other white nationalist leaders tried various strategies to attract newcomers to their cause in 2014, but ultimately failed to revive an ever-dwindling pack of relatively isolated hard-liners.

Organised hate movements in the US remain plugged into the concerns of their counterparts in Europe. As such, US-based white nationalists were encouraged by the outcomes of European elections this year and their support of the “Identitarian” movement across Europe continues to grow.

This has resulted in more trans-continental



cooperation. In October, Richard Spencer of the white nationalist “think tank”, the National Policy Institute (NPI), organised a European Congress in Budapest with the supposed backing of the Hungarian right-wing extremist party Jobbik. The conference descended into farce when Jobbik withdrew its support and the Hungarian authorities banned the event at the last minute. Spencer was arrested and duly deported from the country along with NPI board chair, William Regnery.

Matt Heimbach, the co-founder of the small, Identitarian-inspired Traditionalist Youth Network (TYN), travelled to the Czech Republic in November to meet and to march with the nazi Workers’ Party of Social Justice (DSSS). In October,

he had already met Georgios Epitideios of the Greek nazi party Golden Dawn (GD) when the MEP travelled to New York to meet GD’s American sympathizers.

Conclusion

Isolated even within their own movement, white nationalist leaders like Taylor and Spencer will be forced to look to Europe in the coming year for commiseration as much as collaboration.

Meanwhile, reasonable speculation suggests that leaders of the anti-immigrant and the counter-jihad movements will continue to strengthen their ties in 2015.

They will need to do so if they have any hope of consolidating their Congressional allies in Washington DC and deploying their state-by-

state strategy of flooding legislatures with measures aimed at tormenting already marginalised communities of colour.

These racist organizations have taken note of the growing nationwide movement linking progressive activists across communities to demand reforms around a set of dire social conditions, including inhumane immigration detention and deportation, surveillance, police violence and mass incarceration.

Increased collaboration among the proponents of hatred will only serve as further motivation for civil rights activists and organisations to bolster their solidarity and push for more inclusive policies and practices that uphold the dignity of us all.

Stars deliver HOPE



HOPE NOT HATE fundraising gigs are never small, quiet affairs. They're also quite a rarity-and endless headaches.

Somehow, before his album took to the top end of the charts and the nation reignited its love for him, Paul Heaton agreed that he and co-singer Jacqui Abbott would end their second sell-out two month tour of the year with a "free-one", a gig for a cause.

He turned his nose up at London. "Manchester" he'd said leaving the pub and hailing a taxi. "I'll want to sleep in my own bed that night," he shouted back.

That was in February 2014. By November Heaton and Abbott were playing to venues bursting at the seams across the UK and Ireland. In Manchester, Foodbanks in the north and the south of the city were put on alert that they were to receive a large chunk of the benefits of Heaton's benevolence. People attending the Manchester Academy gig in December would be bringing donations for them.

At the end of November the first delivery arrived; a pallet of soups, pastas and sauces donated by Suma foods in Halifax arrived and it kept on coming.

By the time Heaton and Abbott took to the stage in December, all tiredness and



Jacqui Abbott helps pack the donated food... (below) ... getting it ready for distribution



weariness in the pair evaporated once they saw that the trade union movement had also got behind the idea and that the foyer at Manchester Academy was stacked high in solidarity with supplies donated by their audience.

Introducing the pair, Matthew Collins from HOPE not hate told the crowd "this is not about charity; this is about solidarity". The other recipients of funds would be the Unemployed Workers Centre and Article 26, a charity working in education for Asylum Seekers.

"For those who stand up to poverty, for those who stand up to bullies", as Heaton reiterated in his programme notes for the evening.

Over 4500 items were collected during the evening, including donations from both Heaton and Abbott. As the night came to a spectacular close, a large white van pulled out of the car park to deliver HOPE to foodbanks across Manchester. "Job done" said a relieved Heaton.

The next day, Manchester band the Courteeners chipped in with a £1000 donation that will help supply breakfasts to the homeless and hungry.

The evening would not have been possible without the magnificent support of Thompsons, RMT, GMB, ASLEF & FBU.



Islamophobia takes to the streets

Michael Klein in Berlin investigates

LARGE PUBLIC rallies have taken place in recent weeks in cities like Cologne, Hanover and Dresden bringing together thousands of people to protest at the alleged 'Islamisation' of Germany and Europe.

Right-wing football hooligans organised the first such "protests". A rabidly anti-Muslim street mob, Hooligans against Salafists (Hooligans gegen Salafisten, HoGeSa), was founded in early 2014 and, at first, was buried deep in Facebook but, in September, hooligans from different football clubs – clearly aiming to copy the English

Defence League – started gathering publicly in the Ruhr but with seldom more than 300 showing up.

When HoGeSa announced another rally in Cologne for 26 October, very few expected the number attending to be higher. Yet, a sea change, powered by growing Islamophobia, became apparent when over 6,000 people pledged via the Internet to take part on the day.

About 5,000 turned up but the police analysis of the situation went awry as they came under fierce attack from the hooligans who also aggressively set about journalists.

HoGeSa claims to be against Salafist Islamism but has no sophisticated programme, just limitless prejudice. Slogans shouted on its demonstrations and statements by supporters show that immigration, not extremist Salafism, is the real issue.

Though HoGeSa has no official leader, right-wing extremists like the National Democratic Party (NPD), Die Rechte and the Pro-Germany movement have flocked to join its demonstrations. Prominent has been oft-convicted Siegfried Borchardt, often called SS-Siggi, a man with a long history as a

militant and violent nazi stretching back to the early 1980s.

Follow-up HoGeSa marches planned to take place in Berlin and in Hamburg were banned but an event in Hanover on 15 November was allowed. About 3,000 people attended, accompanied by massive police deployments. For the organisers, the day was only a partial success because the turnout was lower and police action had prevented media attention being drawn to their antics.

What kind of action will be organised next by this alliance of hooligans and nazis is hard to say and is now even more the case because another strand of racist mobilisation has emerged to pull the rug out from under them.

This is a group calling itself Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the Occident (Patriotische Europäer Gegen Islamisierung des Abendlandes – PEGIDA) which has organised so-called “evening walks” in the east German city of Dresden.

On 20 October, some 350 people aged 15 to 70 took part, participants being asked to walk silently and not to shout slogans nor to talk to journalists. Deemed a success, these “walks” were then organised weekly and grew rapidly in number: from 500 on 27 October to 1,000 on 3 November, to 1,700 on 10 November, to 3,500 on 17 November, to 5,500 on 24 November, to 7,500 on 1 December and to 17,500 on 22 December.

Participants have varied social and political backgrounds. Young soccer fans and hooligans from regional clubs mix easily with NPD activists who still have a stronghold in Saxony and with average people who sense a chance to express their anger and racist resentment at official asylum policy. This activity is seen as an attempt to replicate the public anti-Communist demonstrations of the late 1980s in former East Germany that were also organised on Mondays and staged in silence.

PEGIDA, an outfit initiated by a group of people not known to have been previously politically active, skilfully uses social networking. In just a few weeks, it piled up more than 45,000 “likes” on Facebook.

The issue the group officially addresses is what it calls “*fundamentalist Islam*” but its banners and talk clearly show it is about Islam and immigration *per se* although not even one in twenty residents of Saxony is a migrant and Muslim life is nearly invisible in the region. Nevertheless, posters

with slogans such as “Protecting the Homeland instead of Islamisation” or “For the Protection of Our Culture” are slapped up all over the place.

An undoubted catalyst for these developments has been intensified right-wing media attention on the growing number of young Muslim men from Germany joining the ranks of the murderous Islamic State. Reportage of the vile deeds of the IS terrorists has understandably provoked massive revulsion.

However, it is not just a matter of IS’ repulsive deeds and social *angst* and frustration: aggressive attitudes and a rejection of the democratic media and left and liberal politics is widespread amongst those opting to show their rage at IS by participating in PEGIDA’s angrily Islamophobic parades.

PEGIDA organisers argue they are merely bringing public attention to issues not being properly addressed in the political arena but journalists trying to interview demonstrators to find out why they are marching have been insulted, threatened and assaulted.

Lutz Bachmann, PEGIDA’s main organiser, has a long police record. The same PEGIDA crowd that demands that minor offences by migrants should immediately lead to deportation to their countries of origin, though, blithely ignores his criminal past. In the past, Bachmann has tweeted that Social Democrats are a “bunch of criminals” and that the Greens “should be summarily executed”.

Taking their cue from the successes of the movement in Dresden, PEGIDA-like groups have sprung up in other German cities, using similar names like DEGIDA for the group in Düsseldorf or BEGIDA for the one in Braunschweig. The activities of these groups are a godsend to nazi chancers wanting to spread propaganda and influence the situation.

For the nazis, this is not new. In fact, they and right-wing populists have campaigned for years against “Islam” and immigration. In the early 1990s, some of the worst and most murderous nazi terror bombings – in Solingen and Mölln, for example – claimed the lives of Muslims.

What is new is that, combined with fears of IS, current increases in the number of asylum seekers and refugees – principally from Syria – have so rapidly polarised the situation in many German towns.

Almost 36,000 Syrians have sought asylum in Germany in the past 11

months, most being housed in refugee centres or property managed by local municipalities and communities.

A poll conducted in early December by Germany’s public service broadcaster ZDF showed a large majority venting questionable or negative attitudes toward immigrants. Over half said they felt immigrants do not do enough to integrate into German society.

Thus, while an activist, progressive, anti-racist minority struggles for a “culture of welcoming”, a huge segment of the population mean-spiritedly opposes housing for those fleeing war and misery. An arson attack in the Bavarian town of Vorra – population 1,702 – in December destroyed three buildings designated to accommodate refugees. The swastikas and a racist slogan painted on the building left no doubt who was responsible for this vile act.

One reaction to the PEGIDA rallies has been statements from conservative politicians who are climbing on the chariot by raising the issue of banning the *burka*. Demands for full linguistic integration – obliging all migrants to speak German in public *and* at home – are also splattered on the mainstream right’s *palette*.

Such demands are an attempt to placate disgruntled voters turning to the right-wing populist Alternative for Germany (AfD). On several occasions, AfD-members have been active in organising PEGIDA-like actions while AfD leader Bernd Lucke has expressed support for PEGIDA, evidently hoping to profit from its interventions.

PEGIDA’s first written statement is a ragbag of slogans ranging from direct democracy, to faster processing of asylum applications and to a ban on exporting weapons. “Islam” or “Islamisation” are not mentioned at all, very strange for a movement that mentions the issue in its name.

While the PEGIDA march on 1 December was stopped by an anti-fascist blockade, the fact that participants at the rallies are a tense and frustrated mixture of racists, conservatives, violence-prone hooligans and nazis is an ongoing cause for concern – as security officials keep emphasising – and the outcome of these developments remains to be seen.

Numbers on the street demonstrations might fall due to Germany’s winter cold or because of the kind of splits inherent in such unstable movements but the attitudes of many of their followers look set to remain untouched.

Golden Dawn...the state

Just back from Athens, Daniel Trilling looks at the situation in Greece

TWO YEARS AGO, in certain areas of Athens, the presence of the nazi Golden Dawn party was unavoidable, even to the first-time visitor. In the neighbourhood around Victoria station, north of the city centre, the party's foot soldiers had spray-painted their slogans and symbols to mark out their territory.

On the ground outside the church of Aghios Pantaleimonas, they had painted the word ELLADA – Greece – in blue and white capitals. At nearby Attica Square, their initials adorned the walls and rubbish bins, while Greek flags had been fixed to lampposts and painted on the pavement at the entrances to the park in the middle of the square. The message was clear: the streets belong to us.

This was in November 2012, on my first trip to Athens. In the summer of that year, Golden Dawn had won an unprecedented 18 seats in the national parliament, profiting from the collapse of mainstream political parties after EU-imposed austerity policies provoked a wave of public fury.

Golden Dawn hadn't emerged overnight, however. Founded in the 1980s as a violent street outfit, from 2008 it began, like some other far right parties in Europe, to employ a community politics strategy.

The areas around Victoria station in Athens had become home to hundreds of undocumented migrants who had entered Greece across its border with Turkey but who were left destitute by the country's broken immigration system.

Local Greek residents angry at the effect on their neighbourhood had formed action groups that were infiltrated by Golden Dawn members and pushed in a more openly racist direction.

In 2011, after the murder of a Greek man by two Afghan asylum seekers, Golden Dawn unleashed a pogrom: two weeks of violence in which non-white people were dragged off buses and beaten up in broad daylight. To boost their propaganda that Golden Dawn had "reclaimed" the neighbourhood, the party asked its supporters to hang Greek flags from their balconies. Immigrants lived in constant fear of attack from groups of black-clad Golden Dawn hooligans.

The party's grandiose plans started to unravel in the autumn of 2013, however, when one of its members stabbed to death the *Greek* anti-fascist rapper Pavlos Fyssas. Public revulsion at this act – which was notably absent when non-Greeks were the target of Golden Dawn's violence – forced Greece's authorities to act and the leadership were arrested and charged with forming a criminal organisation. Their trial starts in late January 2015.

Visiting Athens again in November and walking in the streets around Victoria station, I could see that a change had taken place. There were fewer Greek flags flying from the balconies, some of the graffiti had been scrubbed off the pavement – and what remained had been painted over in black with anti-fascist slogans. An anarchist squat – common



in other areas of Athens, but not here – had been opened up, in a direct challenge to Golden Dawn's dominance.

According to Eleni Takou of Greece's Racist Violence Recording Network, since the arrests there has been a "dramatic fall" in the number of reports her organisation has received of attacks by uniformed members of far

right organisations. This, she told me, suggests that these attacks were coordinated and ordered from the top.

It seems likely: Golden Dawn is structured like a classic Nazi organisation, with a strict hierarchy and much power invested in its leader, Nikos Michaloliakos. Already, documents unearthed by prosecutors

remains stained



have revealed that the party raised money through criminal activities. An investigation by Channel 4 News on 19 November 2014 found that, in the north Athens neighbourhood I visited, Golden Dawn had blackmailed shop owners and immigrants and offered its services to businessmen who wanted to attack rivals,

all with the connivance of the local police chief.

That last detail points to a problem bigger than Golden Dawn itself: for years, the party was tolerated or, worse, encouraged by sympathisers in the police and right-wing political parties.

In one sense, this is specific to Greece, a country whose recent

history is deeply scarred by dictatorship and civil war. In another, it points to trends that are common elsewhere. As Takou explained, the fall in far right street violence has not necessarily made immigrants feel safer, with attacks coming from members of police officers and members of the public. Racist rhetoric

has been frequently used by mainstream parties: in the run-up to the 2012 elections, for example, one government minister talked of the “hygiene bomb” threatened by immigration.

What’s more, part of the government’s solution to Greece’s immigration crisis has been to round up thousands of undocumented migrants and dump them in detention centres indefinitely. Many have been there for over 18 months now and some for more than two years.

Tougher controls at Europe’s land borders in Greece and elsewhere have forced desperate refugees from the Middle East and Africa to attempt risky boat crossings across the Mediterranean. Over 3,000 have drowned this year alone. In December 2013, the national chief of police was caught on camera saying “we have to make life unbearable” for migrants.

On my last night in Athens, I spoke to a group of refugees from Afghanistan. Some had been in the country only a few months, others for as long as 10 years. But all told me they feared going out in public, because they could be arrested at any time.

It’s important that Golden Dawn’s leaders are brought to justice for their crimes, and that the organisation is prevented from functioning. But what’s happening in Greece poses an urgent question for anti-fascists everywhere: what do we do about the racist policies and anti-immigrant rhetoric of the political mainstream? ●

Election 2015

Nick Lowles explains the HOPE not hate strategy for the forthcoming General and local elections

2015 IS SET TO see HOPE not hate's largest, most organised and highly targeted electoral effort to date. It will be made up of hundreds of different and localised campaigns, with different leaflets being distributed to different houses in our key target areas.

While the British National Party (BNP) is no longer an electoral force, in UKIP we have an altogether bigger threat. UKIP is not the BNP and Nigel Farage is certainly not Nick Griffin but its anti-immigrant agenda, its ability to drag the whole political debate to the right and its acceptance of, and seeming indifference towards, casual racism makes it even more pernicious and dangerous.

Its "pull up the drawbridge" rhetoric and opposition to EU immigration is, for many of its supporters, merely code for opposition to a non-white Britain. Until November, when Farage was forced to retract the idea in the face of public pressure, UKIP policy was for forced repatriation of all EU citizens already here.

And, for every moment, immigration dominates the political agenda so that the real issues facing millions of ordinary people struggling in communities up and down the country go unanswered.

More worryingly still, UKIP could potentially hold the balance of power after the election.

Threat areas

HOPE not hate has identified nine seats where UKIP poses a real threat and it is here where we will be focusing most of our resources. We have mapped each constituency separately and, with the help of a psephologist, we have been able to identify the likely attitudes of voters to UKIP, enabling us to design and distribute our leaflets accordingly – even down to street level.

We have identified another 15 constituencies where UKIP will hope to poll 20-30% of the vote, not enough to win the seat but where it will certainly be a threat in several council wards in local

elections being held on the same day.

The 2015 elections are a stepping-stone for UKIP and so they must be for us. While UKIP obviously is keen to win as many Westminster seats as possible in 2015, it is really eyeing the 2016 local elections – where it hopes to be the natural alternative in hundreds of Labour and Conservative wards – which in turn will become a springboard for an assault on control of councils and a possible EU referendum the following year.

HOPE not hate is also looking to use these elections as a springboard. While our immediate goal is to limit UKIP success in the General Election, we want to use this campaign to develop a national network of activists and local groups who can continue the fight over the next few years.

Much of our work over the next couple of months is going to be to reactivate our existing local groups and build new ones in areas where there are currently none.

A survey of our core supporters late last year identified 260 people willing to help set up a HOPE not hate group in their local area if one did not exist. By working with these people, bringing them together where appropriate and integrating them into existing groups where they exist, we hope to work with them to be in a position where they can get enough people around them by April to leaflet at least one target ward in their area.

We have given ourselves the ambitious target of having active HOPE not hate teams in over 200 constituencies for the General Election. We reckon 130-150 of these will have the capacity to put out a minimum of 5,000 leaflets in the short

campaign; 30-40 will be able to put out 10,000; 10-20 could put out 15,000 and then, in our nine priority areas, we hope to build the capacity to distribute at least 25,000 leaflets and letters.

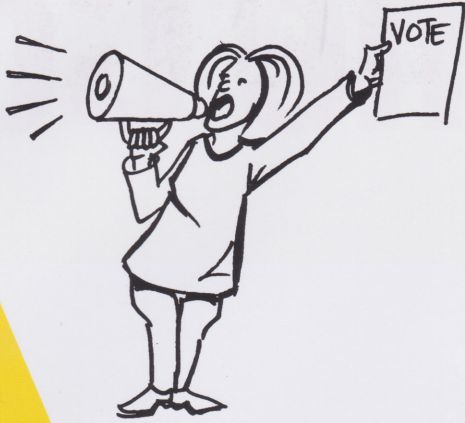
For our key target areas

Constituencies where we have the capacity to communicate the short five-vote campaign – all local

10-
Risk constituencies where we hope to deliver 15,000 pieces of leaflet in the short campaign – s

30-
Local HnH groups capable of distributing 10,000 leaflets during the short

150-
Constituencies where we hope to be delivering at least 5,000 leaflets



we will be looking to distribute several leaflets and letters to our identified anti-UKIP voters during the short campaign.

There will be a monthly HOPE not hate leaflet from January to help local groups

begin to build a relationship with voters in our target wards and then, as we enter the short campaign, there will be as many as 16 different leaflets produced for groups to choose from. We will offer groups able to distribute 15,000 leaflets during the short campaign – be it to 15,000 households or several to a smaller group of target voters – localised leaflets which we believe will make them more effective.

We have spent the last few months looking back at the European Elections and analysing voting data to determine what works and what doesn't. It is abundantly clear that a leaflet for a strong anti-UKIP voter needs to be different to that given to a UKIP-leaning voter. We also have to be honest in acknowledging that some robust anti-UKIP leaflets could be counter-productive to a strong UKIP audience.

We have to be smarter and more targeted than in the past. Our data will allow us to determine which leaflet to put through which door.

Targeted

We will also be producing a selection of leaflets for the different groups most likely to be opposed to UKIP. There will be leaflets aimed at women, students and black and minority ethnic communities. There will be leaflets aimed at trade unionists and even at different regions of the country so as to allow us to tap into local issues and identities.

In total, we will be producing



Become a team leader

HOPE not hate is looking for 200 people to lead local HOPE not hate teams with the aim of delivering a minimum of 5,000 leaflets during the short campaign.

We will give you the tools, training and contacts with others willing to help in your local area.

To become a HOPE not hate team leader, contact John Page at john@hopenothate.org.uk

16 different leaflets and we will be working with our local groups to ensure the most appropriate goes out in their target areas.

To take all this forward, we will be holding a series of regional and local training events during late January and February to explain the campaign strategy, discuss with local groups how it might best be implemented locally and begin the process of turning keen activists into local organisers with the capability of putting out at least 5,000 leaflets during the short campaign.

Whatever the result of the election, we hope to have created a truly national network by May that can challenge the politics of fear and hate in local communities across the country.

These elections are the most important for years and there is a real danger that UKIP could make a serious breakthrough, not just in Westminster seats but also in creating a platform for even greater success locally over the next few years.

This will be a disaster for all of us who believe in a modern, forward-looking multi-racial society. That is why we need to act. The past year has shown that we cannot leave the outcome of these elections to chance or rely on the mainstream parties to take on UKIP.

So, if you don't want to wake up to a more fear-mongering and hateful society on 8 May, one in which racism and prejudice is increasingly acceptable, then please get involved in what will undoubtedly be one of the most exciting and positive campaigns of the election.

HOPE in the Con

From Owen Jones and Elisabeth Pop



HOPE comes to Brent

I think it is safe to say that Brent has bundles of talent.

From the dance moves of the Brent Punjabi Association to the amazing voices of the NGIM Choir, not to forget the great choice in food that was made by participating community groups.

The "Let's celebrate the diversity of Brent" festival was organised in direct response to feelings aired at a HOPE not hate community meeting at which people had expressed the fact that Brent was multicultural but fragmented, a place where diverse groups did not see the benefits of integrating.

To this end, it brought me great joy to see the gathering begin to cut across divisions. This was showcased by individuals walking across the venue stage to introduce themselves to other organisations, exchanging details and spontaneously wanting to share their story.

What was achieved on that one day is a microcosm of what HOPE not hate aims to achieve in Brent. It was music to my

ears to when Mrs Field, a local community activist and social worker, asked what was next and I responded with just one word... 'Mobilisation!'

Festive Fun in Thurrock

Saturday 13 December saw the Salvation Army in Grays host Thurrock TOGETHER's festive event. The gathering attracted around 60 people from all over the area and from a wide range of backgrounds. United together over food, fun and music, the event was a celebration of the wonders that Thurrock's diverse local community has to offer.

The theme of the event was HOPE and the centrepiece was a HOPE wall decorated by local children's groups throughout the week and at the event. The youngsters were able to put their stamp on what HOPE means to them using their own creativity and tons of glitter. It was wonderful to see people of different ages and religious and cultural backgrounds enjoying each other's company. The highlight of the event was



(Left top) Brent
(Top right) Cardiff
(Bottom left) Thurrock
(Bottom right) Dudley

14-year-old Anna- Marie Childs and the Chaffords' Voice Choir's delightful rendition of *Hallelujah* which typified the event, coming together at a special time and displaying with pride everything the community has to offer.

With everyone delighted to be

community



Cardiff students say "Don't Let Them Drown"

The recent government agreement to no longer fund search and rescue operations in the Mediterranean is incoherent as immigration policy, morally bankrupt and a clear capitulation to the anti-immigration politics of fear. Drown an immigrant to save an immigrant goes the line. If more people die, fewer people will be willing to risk their lives.

On a cold and bright December morning, students at Cardiff University arrived on campus to raise awareness among their fellow students and make their voices heard – *We must not let people drown.*

HOPE not hate students from Cardiff and beyond marched a ceremonial dingy up to the steps of the Student Union, with flowers being laid in memory of those that had died in the past year. In just half an hour, the students collected 150 signatures. By the end of the week, this petition had reached the local MP's office.

In just one week in December 2014, Cardiff's students came together to tell their politicians what they are against. The week provided a glimpse of how fast things can go when a group of people from all faiths, backgrounds, cities, towns and nations organise around a common issue. The challenge for 2015 will be articulating together what we are for.

"Our first demonstration for the 'Don't Let Them Drown Campaign' was really successful, very creative and lots of fun. Seeing students from a number of different Colleges and Universities come together to tackle one issue was very inspiring," said Tess, Cardiff University HOPE not hate Society President.

Joy to the world

Glittering frost carpeted Dudley for "Joy to the World", the Castle

and Priory Regeneration Board's Christmas event supported by HOPE not hate. The event brought together three housing estates in the area: Priory and Wren's Nest which, historically, have had an estranged relationship and residents from a new development in North Priory, Friars Gate, to celebrate peace. The day was themed to mark the centenary of the 1914 Christmas Truce on the Western Front.

The day began at community house on the new Friar's Gate estate, where children wrote messages of hope and peace for the New Year that were hidden inside baubles, decorated with sparkles and festive stickers. Carols from around the world were played and we reflected on the relevance of the Christmas Truce for our friends, families and community. In the pinkish winter light, we walked together to St Francis' Church and warmed up with turkey baps and mince pies!

Children were entertained with lantern making and Christmas crafts, whilst everyone enjoyed the food. We then entered the church to hang our baubles and messages of peace on the Christmas tree and to hear messages of love, joy and hope from other places around the world. Following a beautiful rendition of *Stille Nacht*, we lit our lanterns and Diya Diwali lamps and set off for carols in Priory Park. Over 100 people braved the freezing temperatures to sing along to festive classics by candlelight.

The event was not only a lot of fun but highlighted the changes in attitude in what has been known as a difficult area and where HOPE not hate has been active in the community for several years. We will continue to work closely with residents in Castle and Priory and to continue spreading the message of HOPE, starting with a community newsletter in the New Year.



sharing food, bringing along their family and asking more about what they could do to promote HOPE in the community, the event was a great success and testimony what a united community in Thurrock looks and sounds like.

The year in review

by Nick Lowles

2014 was the year that the British National Party (BNP) finally crumbled, due in no small part to HOPE not hate's consistent and unrelenting campaigning and research.

Party leader Nick Griffin lost his seat in the European Parliament and the party was reduced to just two local councillors. So riven was it with splits and feuds that Griffin was even deposed as leader and, then, unceremoniously booted out of the party altogether.

While the collapse of the BNP was a fantastic way to celebrate our 10th anniversary, bigger challenges lie ahead.

The emerging political threat from UKIP and the growing anti-immigrant line put forward by the main political parties as a response to UKIP means HOPE not hate's work is needed more than ever and we are beginning to meet the challenge.

Thousands of people got involved in our 2014 European Election campaign, many in areas where we had done no campaigning before. A total of 364 campaign events were held across the country in the run up to the elections and just under three million leaflets and newspapers distributed. Our campaign was the biggest outside the three main political parties. In addition, we had an eight-page supplement in the *Daily Mirror*, which reached another two million people.

While we were unable to prevent UKIP coming first in the European Elections, we did help broaden opposition to UKIP among the general public through our campaigning and media exposés. Just as importantly, we developed the nucleus of a national network that will spearhead the defence of our multi-ethnic, multi-racial, multi-cultural Britain in this year's General Election.

Over 18,000 people have already pledged to do their bit to stop UKIP, 260 of whom have volunteered to set up HOPE not hate groups if one does not exist locally.

Away from elections, we launched the Together project, a community organising initiative to bring people together in communities where there is racial or religious tension through developing shared identities and common ground. This project has seen hundreds of people joining together and barriers broken down in some of our most fraught and tense communities.

We strongly believe that such local initiatives are crucial if we are genuinely going to overcome the fears and suspicion that divide communities.

We have also developed a Voter Registration drive for 2015 that seeks to help marginalised communities get registered and heard. With up to seven million people dropping off the electoral register because of Individual Electoral Registration, this work is vital to ensure that already marginalised communities do not become even more detached from the rest of society.

We have continued to take on the issue of child sexual exploitation, demanding that authorities take the issue more seriously whilst simultaneously pushing back attempts by

the far right and Islamophobes to racialise the issue. In the South Yorkshire Police and Crime Commissioner election, we distributed 60,000 copies of a tabloid newspaper that explored solutions to the problem.

Our research wing goes from strength to strength, informing the public of developments within British far right and Islamist extremism and also undermining and weakening these extremist groups wherever possible. Last year, a report we produced into Britain First – the first in-depth investigation into the group – led to the resignation of its founder and co-leader. When Griffin was expelled from the BNP, his opponents claimed he was leaking information to HOPE not hate given the number of highly confidential internal documents and letters that were appearing on our website. It was HOPE not hate, too, that first identified Abu Ramayah as the man who skipped police bail to join ISIS in Syria.

Time and again, HOPE not hate's research team has been the first port of call for journalists and researchers. Matthew Collins produced *Signs of Hate* and I updated my book on Combat 18, to include its spread across Europe and links to the NSU killers in Germany.

We have expanded our research into Islamist extremism and in November one of our researchers went to northern Iraq to see first-hand the human suffering caused by this intolerant and violent ideology.

At the same time, we have continued to strengthen our links with Muslim organisations in order to bring communities together locally and stand together with them in the face of anti-Muslim hatred. Likewise, we made a point in 2014 of publicly standing with the Jewish community when it faced an antisemitic backlash as a result of the Gaza conflict.

Whatever one's views of the Israel-Palestinian conflict, taking it out on Jewish people in the UK is as unacceptable as it would be to blame all Muslims for the actions of the actions of Jihadi terrorists.

We have sustained our close work with national and local trade unions and 2014 also saw us support a number of other campaigns, not least efforts by Kalayaan to improve the rights of domestic workers whose current visa status leaves them open to abuse.

We have likewise continued to strengthen and build our international network with new correspondents in eastern and southern Europe. This proved exceptionally useful during the European elections.

Top musicians Paul Heaton and Jacqui Abbott rounded off the year with a HOPE for Christmas gig in Manchester that resulted in 4,500 food items being collected from the thousand people in attendance and later distributed to foodbanks across the city. "This is not about charity," HOPE not hate's Matthew Collins told the crowd. "This is about solidarity."

As HOPE not hate celebrated its 10th birthday, this statement summed up our ethos and exemplified the work we do, and will continue to do in 2015.



£50,000 General Election appeal

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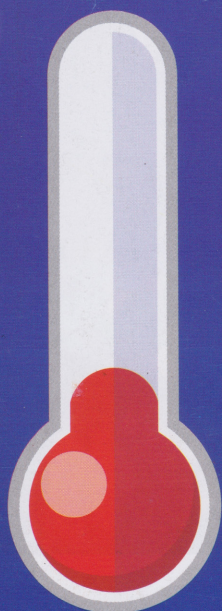
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